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ABSTRACT

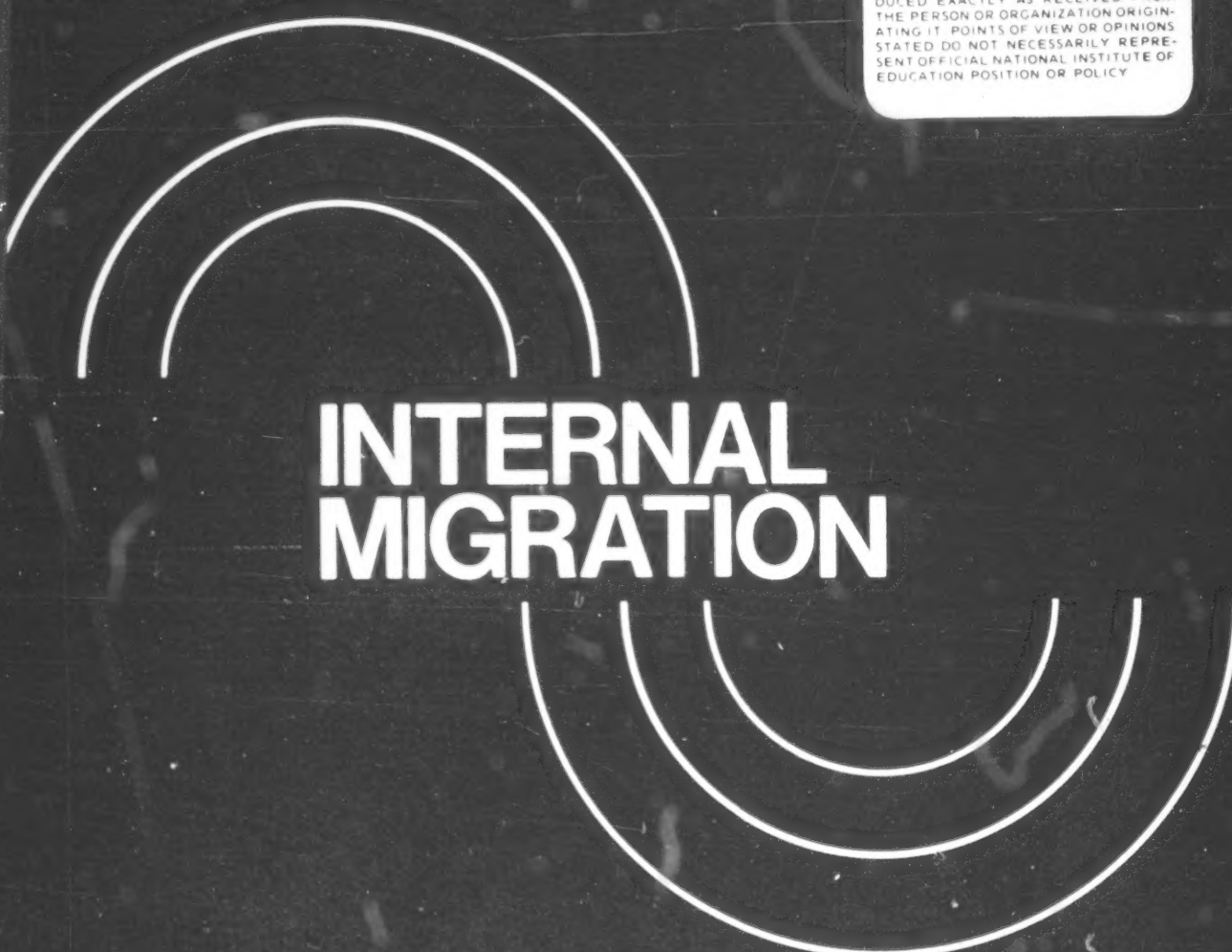
This UNITAR News Issue presents the background and working papers prepared and utilized by the participants in a workshop on Planning for Internal Migration held in Jamaica and Cuba in April 1976. This workshop, attended by planners and government officials from the Caribbean and some Latin American countries, convened to discuss mutual problems and exchange ideas about internal migration. Topics discussed in the papers include: human settlements, internal migration, policy options for governments, land reform, agricultural reform and squatter settlements. An outline of a multimedia training package on Planning for Internal Migration and the recommendations of the workshop are included in this issue.
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INTERNAL MIGRATION

SE 022 701

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This issue of UNITAR News is based upon work carried out in relation to the workshop on Planning for Internal Migration, and we are greatly indebted to the following. Without their contributions and co-operation neither the Workshop nor this publication would have been possible.

- Fadia Nasr and Encarnación Singh of UNITAR did research, translation and preparation of background papers.
- Bettina Corke directed the film and videotape material, from which the transcriptions were made.
- Chris Srinivasan was photographer for the Workshop, and much of his material has been included in the slide-tape presentations on sites and services and Cuba's new communities.
- JAMAL Foundation, Kingston, provided audio equipment, cameras and crew.
- Jamaica's National Planning Agency, Urban Development Corporation, and Department of Statistics and the University of the West Indies in Kingston all gave freely of time, staff and invaluable advice and assistance.
- The Comité Cubano de Asentamientos Humanos organized our stay in Cuba enthusiastically and with generous hospitality.
- The office of the Resident Representative of the United Nations Development Programme in Kingston helped us out in many ways and provided logistical support.
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PREFACE

The large-scale conferences on specialized topics which have come to play such an important role in the work of the United Nations have introduced new elements into the production, use and dissemination of research findings and expert knowledge. There are three aspects which should be considered:

- how to transmute research findings and other specialized material into forms readily comprehensible to non-specialists who have to make policy decisions;

- how to disseminate this material so that people who need it can easily obtain and use it, and finally

- how to adapt such material to special individual requirements supplementing it from local resources to meet their specific needs.

This was the background to the workshop on *Planning for Internal Migration* which UNITAR organized in Jamaica and Cuba last April, generously financed by the United Nations Fund for Population Activities, on the initiative of its Executive Director.

The workshop was attended by planners and government officials from the Caribbean and some Latin American countries who had the opportunity not only to discuss their mutual problems and exchange ideas about possible solutions but also to visit projects in the two islands related to internal migration and judge what practical progress had been made. In addition to papers prepared by some of the experts who attended, interviews and discussions were recorded on film and videotape. We would like to take this opportunity to express our thanks to the Governments concerned for the practical assistance given to my colleagues in UNITAR and the enthusiasm their representatives brought to the discussions.

The drift of families to the cities is world wide, as is the stag-

nation of rural areas. It is now generally accepted that there is no way, short of strongly repressive measures, to prevent this massive trend towards urban living, often in conditions of extreme squalor and hardship, until means are found to rehabilitate the countryside, to provide employment, food, education, roads and decent housing.

But no country, industrialized or in the Third World, has found an ideal solution to the kind of integrated planning which is essential in this area. It encompasses the fundamentals which have emerged in the recommendations of recent United Nations conferences, not only on human settlements, population and environment, but also on the role of women in development, the need for increased food production, and the forthcoming conferences on water, desertification and science and technology. It is essential that the substance of these meetings—the accumulated wisdom of eminent thinkers and practical technicians from all corners of the world—be made accessible to educators, policy-makers, planners and trainers in the developing world. To do this effectively, it is not enough to present the information in documents or books. It must be in a variety of forms, using all the means of communication available, so that popular participation will become a reality and the work of the United Nations is able to reach the widest audience.

What we managed to do in our brief workshop was no more than a beginning. Other United Nations bodies may be able to carry it further. In this issue of UNITAR News we have tried to show that the potential exists.

Davidson Nicol
Executive Director, UNITAR

Co-editors Laurel Isaacs
 Christina McDougall

Editorial Assistant, Katherine Hoffman
 layout

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A Training Workshop on Planning for Internal Migration

Introduction

In April 1976 a three-week training workshop on Planning for Internal Migration was held in Jamaica and Cuba. It was designed to link up the themes of the United Nations Conferences on the Environment, on Population and on Human Settlements.

The original intention was not merely to exchange ideas and observe how the phenomenon of rural-urban migration was dealt with in countries of differing political and economic systems, but also to use the workshop as an experimental source of material for a pilot communications project. From the knowledge and experience of those present and from research carried out within the United Nations and elsewhere, it was hoped to create something tangible which could be transmitted in a readily understandable way to other developing countries coping with similar problems. A multimedia training package, containing both printed and audiovisual materials, seemed one way of accomplishing this, provided it were devised in such a way that it could be used as the curriculum for a series of training courses; as a basis for educational broadcasts (in developing countries now using radio or television as an integral part of adult education and training); as a means of integrating other audiovisual material produced for the Habitat Conference; or simply as a manual on the topic. It would have to be flexible enough to be adapted to differing national resources and requirements.

In addition, therefore, to the background papers prepared for and during the workshop, interviews and discussion were recorded on film and videotape, slides were prepared and a linking commentary written in script form for presentation before a small group at the Habitat Conference on Human Settlements.

Programme of Workshop

The workshop programme had four main components: the influence of internal migration on rural development, including the encouragement of job creation and the setting up of intermediate growth centres; the influence of internal migration on urban growth including the various means of rehabilitating slums and squatter settlements; population distribution and the measurement of migration; and the special experience of Cuba in these areas as compared with what was going on elsewhere in the Caribbean.

At the final plenary meeting of the workshop in Havana, a representative of the Dominican Republic summarized points she felt were important to retain from the workshop: that planning in each country must be based upon the realities of that country; that gathering and channelling of information, with feedback, was of prime importance; that governments must guide their internal migration and, to implement this, both integrated planning and popular participation were essential; there must be rationalization of land ownership; every country must attain genuine social and economic independence, including control over its natural resources; a greater exchange of experience and technology between countries was necessary to develop unified criteria; the use of audio-visual methods was essential in implementing all of this.

Follow-up

It has not been possible to implement the original concept of using the material produced in connection with the workshop as a basis for a multimedia training package. UNITAR has neither the staff nor the resources to complete the work, test it—preferably in a developing country—and evaluate the results.

However, people who have seen it in its present rough form have expressed interest in using this type of material in university courses or planning institutes, in government training or for United Nations seminars. A commercial publisher has indicated willingness to be a sponsor of the project and to package it in a form which might help people deal with some of the practical problems it describes.

As it exists at the moment, there is one copy of most of the audio-visual material and a few copies of a compilation which includes the articles and papers, transcriptions of the audiovisual material and a commentary which links the segments together. This issue of *UNITAR News* presents a few extracts and includes an outline of the entire package.

Interspersed with the articles which follow are some of the relevant recommendations to be found in the *Report of Habitat: United Nations Conference on Human Settlements*.* ■

*A CONF. 70/15

Rafael Salas, Executive Director of the UN Fund for Population Activities



THE ISSUES INVOLVED IN HUMAN SETTLEMENTS

Enrique Peñalosa

In his closing remarks to the workshop, in Havana, Cuba, the Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements gave participants a broad overview of the problems caused by population pressures and the growth of conurbations. He stressed the urgent necessity of adequate planning and of positive action.

Those of us who are today inhabitants of this planet are witnessing one of the most dramatic and spectacular changes that has ever taken place in the history of mankind. Even at the beginning of this century we had a planet that was eminently rural, where less than 20 per cent of the world's population lived in urban centres. In less than 100 years, at the end of this century, we will have an urbanized planet, where more than two thirds of humanity will live in urban centres.

In order to be able to know what we are talking about, I'd like to clarify that human settlements indicate any place where a community lives on a permanent basis, whether it be a tiny rural village or a monstrous metropolis. When I mention urban centres, I am using the arbitrary definition of the United Nations—and these definitions are always arbitrary—centres with more than 20,000 inhabitants.

In the case of Latin America, we were a rural area at the beginning of this century. Scarcely five per cent of the Latin American population lived in urban centres, and we were mainly an underpopulated region. By the end of this century Latin America will be the most urbanized region of the earth, more urbanized than Europe or North America. If the present trend continues, which we hope it will not, we will have more metropolises and more megalopolises than any other region of the world, huge monsters such as São Paulo, with 40 million inhabitants, or Mexico City with 30 million. The Latin American population will be twice that of the United States of America at the end of this century, and, if these trends continue, these people will be concentrated in 30 cities. Only 150 million Latin Americans will live in the rural areas.

When we speak of the problem of the human settlements that we must build in order to meet minimum demands of the next 25 years, we are not seeking technical solutions. The technology exists or may easily be developed. Experts are not the ones to be convinced. What is urgently needed are political decisions at the international and national levels, and the two ingredients you need to take a political decision are the will of the political leaders and the wholehearted support of public opinion.

Each country needs a clear national policy on human settlements. A fundamental component of any such policy is the distribution of population throughout the national territory, because human settlements are for human beings, where they are living or are going to live. It is of great importance that different countries establish clear norms, clear purposes, clear policy objectives—where and how is this population to live, in what regions, in what type of settlement or in what type of community network.

I would like to see countries become convinced—or public opinion and leaders become convinced—that planning for economic development must be complemented by physical and territorial planning. Such planning of countries cannot be left to a free process, generally chaotic, as has been the case until the present, and if physical planning is not integrated with economic development planning, little or nothing will be obtained. The archives of many municipalities are full of beautiful physical planning projects which have not gone beyond being interesting reports.

I would like to mention the topic of land, since very little could be planned if there were no adequate control of the use of land. This is closely related to ownership of land, advantages and disadvantages of private property vs. public ownership, the need to establish limitations on private property so that it does not become a serious obstacle to adequate planning and building of human settlements.

Intimately linked to the topic of physical planning is the need to take into account the resources available in a community to meet the minimum needs of that community. Up until now, in the majority of developing countries, we have been copying models and standards from the industrialized world that are not adaptable to our needs, much less our possibilities. By doing so we have developed a feudal society where a minority absorbs almost the totality of national resources and enjoys a European or North American way of living at the expense of the majority of the population whose most minimum needs in human settlements are not being met. Each country must produce its own models, its own norms, its own standards.

Very frequently one forgets that 90 per cent of the existing housing throughout the world has not been built by the state, by architects, or by private enterprise. These houses have been built by those who live in them, the poor, and most of the houses that must be built on the planet for the 350 million additional inhabitants in the coming 25 years will continue to be built by the people who are going to live in them. This forces us to realize that without active participation by the people, decision-making, the formulation of policies and designing and planning would simply be a dead letter.

As far as the so-called migrations from the countryside into the cities are concerned, I believe that this division between urban and rural is somewhat artificial. We should rather think about the concept of a minimum economic unit where human beings can see their minimum needs being met, where they can count on access to the minimum resources of civilization available to them in each region and each country. In many countries, a community with 10,000 inhabitants may have good ser-

vices and conditions and may constitute a true urban unit. And in many other countries, cities with 40 or 50 thousand inhabitants do not provide the amenities of urban centres.

In any case, there is a consensus among experts that the rural population of the world is not going to decrease. When we speak of migration from the countryside to the city, usually what comes to mind is the depopulation of the countryside. This is not happening, except in a very few highly industrialized countries. In the rest of the world the rural population will continue to increase, even though today the majority of the world's countries have an excess of population in the rural areas. The experience of the last 50 years is that the availability of agricultural land per head has decreased year by year, and that is one of the reasons the rural areas have been impoverished. The new rich agricultural lands have been exhausted—another Argentina, another midwest United States does not exist. Therefore in all of our countries the availability of agricultural land per capita has been decreasing, producing higher congestion in the rural areas and a hidden unemployment.

Nonetheless, in spite of this and in spite of the largest migration ever to occur in history, which is going to take place over the next 25 years, the rural population will not decrease in absolute terms. I would like simply to give you an example which constitutes more than two thirds of Latin America, that of Brazil. Today the urban population of Brazil is around 60 million inhabitants; the rural population is about 43-44 million. At the end of the century 160 million Brazilians will be living in urban centres of more than 20,000 inhabitants. Nevertheless, the rural areas of Brazil will have to prepare themselves for an additional

eight million peasants

I would also like to give you the example of my country, Colombia. At present, the urban population of Colombia is about 14-15 million inhabitants, and the rural population is about 10 million. We are practically going to triple the urban population in the coming 25 years, from 15 million to 40 million. We estimate that today there are more than 800 thousand families in the already overcrowded Colombian rural areas, but there will be two million peasants more in the next 25 years.

The solution is not that of keeping people from leaving agricultural areas for non-agricultural areas, as is sometimes suggested by politicians. I believe that migration from the solitude and isolation of the peasantry must constitute the fundamental right of every human being. But I am not defending non-control and chaotic migration, usually directed to only one or two cities. Migration must be planned, but we cannot adopt the selfish criteria of the urban inhabitant who feels uncomfortable at the arrival of peasants in the city and promotes absurd and infantile systems to prevent this. The peasants are citizens just as much as those of us who today live in cities.

For those who are in key positions within governments, the UN Conference on Human Settlements could be the beginning of a great process of realization and especially of decision-making. I believe that this is a great opportunity to take to the political leaders of the different governments many of the concerns, many of the alternatives, many of the suggestions that have been in preparation and have been reflected upon for many years. ■

Recommendation A.1

A National Settlement Policy

- (a) Every aspect of human settlements: social, environmental, cultural, and psychological is profoundly affected by the level of economic development, population growth and movements, as well as social relationships. The task of dealing with the consequential and rapid changes in the range and location of human activities, within the constraints of limited resources, presents both a new challenge and a unique opportunity to achieve more balanced development in every nation.
- (b) **ALL COUNTRIES SHOULD ESTABLISH AS A MATTER OF URGENCY A NATIONAL POLICY ON HUMAN SETTLEMENTS, EMBODYING THE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION, AND RELATED ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ACTIVITIES, OVER THE NATIONAL TERRITORY.**
- (c) **Such a policy should:**
 - (i) Be based on the goals and objectives stated in the Declaration of Principles;
 - (ii) Recognize that difficult choices must be made between conflicting requirements;
 - (iii) Embody both a firm political commitment and public understanding of its implications;
 - (iv) Be based on a critical assessment of the present situation of human settlements, the emerging trends, and the impact of past policies;
 - (v) Be devised to facilitate population redistribution to accord with the availability of resources;
 - (vi) Focus on the central role of human resources as an agent for development;
 - (vii) Take into account the World Population Plan of Action.

PROBLEMS OF COLLECTING POPULATION STATISTICS

Before any country can establish an effective national policy on human settlements, it must have basic information about the composition and movements of its population. But accurate statistics are hard to come by, as the following report of a workshop group discussion illustrates. The rapporteur is Luther Bourne, Chief Town Planner of Barbados.

(A video transcription)

There is a difficulty with boundaries when we want to compare what has happened over a period of time. Sometimes the enumeration districts change their boundaries between one census and the next, but we also have the problem in built-up areas where there is a continuous stretch of urbanized settlement which makes it difficult to draw a line where the rural begins and the urban ends, or between one part of the urban or rural area and another.

We also looked at problems of taking a regional census, as was done in the English-speaking Caribbean during the last census. It is a good thing to be able to compare the different countries in the region, but we have found there are problems in retrieving processed information when we want it. Moreover, due to the tremendous mobility of people today the results of the census are often completely out of date by the time they are tabulated. At a more sophisticated level, even with some of the modern tools of analysis—the mathematical models, the increase in use of computer technology—we never seem to have enough detailed information.

What is probably more serious is the fundamental problem of getting basic information like records of births and deaths, which is difficult in many of the larger continental countries of the region, such as Belize, Guyana and Surinam, with large areas that are very sparsely inhabited. They present serious problems of keeping good records which are aggravated by the migratory characteristics of certain peoples in such areas, like the Amerindians. It is not only a problem of keeping track of them within their own areas, but there is a tendency for them to move even across national boundaries between, say, Guyana, Brazil and Surinam.

Then there is the lack of experienced and trained enumerators. There may be very well organized systems on paper, but when it comes to implementing them many of the enumerators out in the field who have to obtain information and record it are not sufficiently trained to do this properly. The overall literacy of the population also reflects on the accuracy of the information, for example, in Haiti, where the population is 80-85% illiterate.

Another area we think might be deficient is that, although we may have reasonable information from the census about people moving, say, from the rural area to the urban area, the census does not seem to give adequate information on whether the man enumerated in District A in 1960 has not over a period of nine years lived in some other part of the country and has just moved back to the area where he was born. It would appear on the census that this man was born in the area and is living there at the time of the census, but what happened in between is not recorded. This is a real deficiency from a planning point of view because such people could very well be bringing back the skills which they had acquired in the area where they had been living for the interim period.

For the question of planning social welfare, many aspects are

not easily quantified and therefore not properly reflected in any kind of census information for people in the field who have to use it as a basis for improving the general social welfare of the community. For example, in many instances there is a greater movement of the female population than of the male. Many of these women have sometimes repatriated their children from those areas to which they have migrated, but the information is not properly reflected in the current type of census with regard to the impact of all this on the level of welfare of the children concerned.

In Surinam, many people from the interior come to the capital, Paramaribo, in search of seasonal work, and when the work is completed they return to the interior so it is very difficult to keep track of their movements.

Jamaica, which is more settled, seems to have a better way of keeping track of internal migration. Since 1943, they have tabulated information on internal migration from the 1943, 1963 and 1973 censuses. Several of the institutions of higher learning, especially the University of the West Indies, have made special enquiry into these problems.

Guyana has a problem of a different sort, in that there are only three administrative districts in the country. Some attempts were made in 1970 to divide the country into smaller areas which could be easily handled, but this was never adopted. Therefore, it is difficult to tabulate the number of people who migrate internally in Guyana.

The Bahamas, on the other hand, is a country divided up by a large body of sea where it is difficult to check the numbers of people who migrate externally as well as internally among islands within the country. This has created a great problem for the government as far as information-gathering is concerned. There is very little information on internal migration in the country, and, in fact, there is a real problem in tabulating the actual size of the population.

In Cuba, registration of people takes place from the age of 16, and internal migration follows the development needs of the country. When an area is being developed, the people who are needed to participate in the development come from the urban areas and are part of the internal migration process in the country. Identity records facilitate more accurate recording and registration of births and deaths, as well as of the migratory movement from one district to another.

In Trinidad, people move from one part of the island to another. It might be from one oil sector to another, but is not necessarily rural-urban movement.

Detailed statistics on internal migration are not available for the smaller territories of the Caribbean, but this may not really be necessary because the problem of internal migration in the smaller territories, in, say, St. Vincent and St. Lucia, is not a major issue. The islands are so small. Nevertheless, it is still important to have basic data about the movements of people. ■

MIGRATION IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

Dr. Jack Harewood

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Economic Research,
University of the West Indies,
Trinidad

The following is an extract from a paper entitled "Internal Migration in relation to Urban and Rural Growth,"* which Dr. Harewood prepared for the workshop.

The people of the Caribbean have a long tradition of movement and migration—including *external migration* (movement between the Caribbean and the rest of the world), *intra-regional migration* (movement between the various Caribbean territories) and *internal migration* (movement from one area to another within the same territory).

Internal migration first became significant immediately after the abolition of slavery as the freed slaves moved away from the plantation into peasant-type agriculture wherever they could find land—mainly on abandoned plantations and in the mountainous interiors of the various territories. In due course, indentured workers, who, like the slaves before them, had to live on the plantation to which they were assigned during the period of their indenture, also tended to move away from the plantations to become land-owning peasantry when the period of their indenture had expired.

This rapid development of the peasantry, and with it the attendant rural-to-rural internal migration, varied in a number of ways from one country in the region to another, but the basic pattern remained the same. This movement, however, necessarily was greatly reduced as land became scarcer and population increased. Nevertheless, internal migration in the countries of the region today still includes a significant rural-to-rural movement. . . . In Trinidad and Tobago, the large number of persons moving from one rural area to another, a number as large as the number moving from rural to urban areas, throws doubt on the validity of the assumption, at least in the case of that country, that internal migration is largely a process of urbanization and rural depopulation. . . . Of every 100 persons who moved during 1969 and the first three months of 1970 (comparing the place of present residence with the place of birth rather than with the place of last residence), only 25 moved from rural to urban areas, while, on the other hand, 18 moved in the reverse direction, from urban to rural areas. The net gain to urban areas (or the net rural depopulation) as a result of 100 who moved was therefore only seven persons. Of the remaining 57 of every 100 people who moved, 36 went from one urban area to another and 21 from one rural area to another. . . .

Does this mean that as far as the census and related population statistics are concerned there is no evidence of urbanization in Trinidad and Tobago during the past quarter century? The answer is that there most certainly is such evidence, but the evidence is not in terms of population redistribution but rather in terms of changes in occupational structure. In particular, there has been a most remarkable decline in agriculture since 1946, and it is in this sense that problems occur. Between 1946 and 1960, for the occupation group *Farmers, Fishermen*

and related workers there was an absolute decline in numbers for the males and a decline in the proportion of the working population from 28.2 per cent to 22.5 per cent. For females there was a slight increase in numbers but a decline in proportion from 20.4 per cent to 16.5 per cent. Figures for the 1970 census by occupation are not available to the writer at present, but some information can be obtained from the Continuous Sample Survey of Population for which data for the country as a whole is available from mid-1964. From mid-1964 up to 1970 the occupation group *Farmer, Fisherman, Hunter, Logger and Forest Worker* remained at about 22 per cent of the labour force (both sexes). Since 1970, however, there has been a sudden and surprisingly large drop to an average of only 13 per cent of the labour force in 1973. In absolute numbers, this occupation group averaged 78,000 in 1970 and 50,000 in 1973.

One of the major problems facing the region is the "crisis in food production." If it is true that there has not been any significant movement of population away from the rural areas, why should this problem have developed?

The answer is that for a variety of reasons there is a growing resistance to work in agriculture. The dislike for agriculture on the part of much of the rural population in the region is of long standing. One view is that there was a latent antipathy to agricultural work among ex-slaves. Certainly, as stated earlier, there was a large-scale movement away from the plantations by the ex-slaves, many of whom moved into peasant farming. But the attitude of the planters and of the governments to the new peasantry was one of indifference and even of hostility, since it threatened the planters' labour supply. The general backwardness in agriculture has been ascribed to this early and long-continued neglect. . . . Another factor is that because the rural population has long been exposed to Western influence and has had the rudiments of a general education, the orientation has been predominantly economic, and hence community and group loyalties have never become important. This, along with the government neglect already referred to and the failure of the educational system to make agriculture acceptable, has resulted in a strong bias against agriculture.

More recently, the development of the tourist industry (e.g. in Tobago), the availability of employment on government projects (e.g. road construction), opportunities for emigration, financial assistance in the form of remittances from emigrant relatives and a number of other factors have strengthened the trend away from agriculture.

But, as shown above, the result is not necessarily a movement out of the rural into the urban areas. The government project jobs, for example, are available in the rural areas as well,

and the prospects for any individual will no doubt be better in his own rural area than in a new urban area.

There is, of course, some movement out of rural areas, but this is largely matched by a movement of people from urban to rural areas. This probably reflects the tendency for agricultural land in some areas to be transposed into building areas. With the growing increase in land and building prices in the urban and semi-urban areas, many persons are willing to live further away and travel to work in the cities and urban areas. It must be remembered that for these Caribbean islands distances are relatively short and with better roads, distances of travel to work can be lengthened. The "crisis in food production" may therefore in some cases be associated with a net movement of people from urban to rural areas rather than the reverse, and most certainly it can occur without rural depopulation. . . .

There is clearly no evidence from available statistics of rapid urbanization in Trinidad and Tobago, and one is tempted to hypothesize that the classical urbanization pattern may often be

absent from small island countries with good communications. This is undoubtedly an over-simplification. It is known that in Trinidad and Tobago there have been conscious efforts to limit urbanization. Thus starting with the fortuitous opportunity for non-agricultural employment in rural areas in the petroleum and asphalt industries, the government has encouraged the buildup of industries outside the main urban centres; the Point Lisas project in south Trinidad is merely the most recent and more ambitious of these. At the same time efforts have been made to make the rural areas competitively attractive, for example through pushing the country-wide electrification programme to the stage where there are few areas in the country without electricity. . . . ■

*The complete paper, with statistical tables, may be obtained from UN-ITAR, 801, United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017

Decision-Making and Statistics

Part of the interest of any seminar, particularly when the gathering is international, is to observe to what extent participants come to reassess some of their ways of thinking. Here are some remarks made by Dr. Harewood toward the end of the workshop, recorded during a plenary session in Cuba.

I have got the impression that in Cuba a great deal of decision-making and a great deal of action initially took place with limited statistics. There is the great possibility—and I hope I'm not talking myself out of a job—that often in the Caribbean, when governments ask for statistics, it is used as an opportunity to postpone action and to postpone decision-making. If the problem of internal migration, then to say 'we are going to migration and from unemployment, then you don't really need statistics to do something, because anything you do can't be wrong.

For decision-making and action in countries such as the ones I have lived in, often a decision is taken which can't be put into operation, whether the decision is good or not. This is partly because the people are not motivated but also partly because there are large numbers of people who are very intelligent and spend all of their time and energies pointing out to everybody else why any decision made is the wrong one. I think any decision is necessarily imperfect, but one thing which would be useful in trying to solve internal migration problems is to be able to decide what is good for people to do and get them to do it, make them do it, whether they like it or not.

I tend to be very narrow in my outlook because I've been trained as a statistician and therefore I look at one problem at a time. I would tend to see internal migration as a problem that

can be tackled as a problem. In other words, one doesn't have to solve all other problems at the same time, or to change the whole political and economic system before one does anything. Granted, if you attack internal migration without changing other things or within a political-economic system that isn't working efficiently, then whatever solution you find is not going to be as good as if the other things also existed. But one of the things I found missing in our discussions in Jamaica was a willingness to treat internal migration as a problem that can be tackled by itself. It is going to be associated with other things, but let us assume that there is poverty, there is unemployment, there are other problems and there's also internal migration . . . and attack each of these problems, knowing that they are going to overlap. I think I'd be about the only person who would say so here, because, as I say, I'm the only statistician. Everybody else would be much more concerned with the multidisciplinary solution, which obviously is the best, but I think it doesn't make a lot of sense to sit down for a period of two weeks to look at the problem of internal migration, then to say 'we are going to solve internal migration by solving all the problems of the country,' then end up by not really knowing what the problems of internal migration are. It's possible also to solve all the other problems of a country by getting rid of unemployment, and so on, without taking into account internal migration at all. ■

The following is a brief extract from an article by Aprodicio Laquian and Alan Simmons, both of the Division of Social Sciences and Human Resources, International Development Research Centre, Ottawa. The original article is entitled:

PUBLIC POLICY AND MIGRATORY BEHAVIOUR IN SELECTED DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

... Virtually all government policies can influence migration in human settlement patterns. Policies concerning the magnitude and location of foreign investments, the pattern of agricultural and industrial development, the provision of health, education and other services, and the birth and death rates (natural population growth) in various regions, will all influence the spatial distribution of human populations. In aggregate, such policies may be the primary determinants of migration and urbanization patterns. In this sense most of the planning of settlement patterns in the developing world is unintentional, since it is guided by policies and programmes whose impact on urbanization was not explicitly considered. Often the net impact of general social and economic planning may be contrary to more limited policies designed intentionally to influence migration and settlement patterns. The challenge to planners and implementers lies in whether they can and will harmonize these activities of government, consciously assessing the impact which they are likely to have on decisions to migrate.

To be really effective, alternate urban places have to be planned within the framework of a national development plan. In too many cases countries develop five-year plans without much regard for the spatial impact of projects and programmes. Being sectorally prepared, the plans concentrate on increasing production no matter where it occurs and on providing services wherever the people currently live. This usually serves to concentrate development in large metropolitan areas, even when the government is concerned about the continuing growth of these areas.

In one country, the Philippines, an attempt was made to categorize a wide variety of policies and programmes according to their possible impact on migration and the distribution of people and settlements. The individual programmes were then analysed to find out the extent to which they were in conflict or complementary to each other. The resulting analysis suggested that there was overlapping and contradiction among the programmes so that influences favouring the urban growth and development outside Manila were being undermined by the impact of other programmes. Further analysis of this kind in other countries may clarify the linkage between migratory behaviour and public policy. The resulting information could be fed back into the policy process to improve the reformulation and implementation of such policies. In this way, development which is concerned with growth and with more equitable distribution of such benefits can be achieved.

Rural-urban migration and rapid urbanization in the world are determined by the interaction of rather fundamental socio-economic, ecological and biological forces, including: rapid population growth and excess labour in rural areas, shortages of land in settled rural communities, soil erosion, ethnic conflict and, perhaps most importantly, the economies of scale in production and distribution of goods and services associated with the urban way of life. Public policies have often a weak control over many of these factors (take rural population growth as an example) at which they do have some impact (say in areas of trade, industrial investment and the location of social services) programmes are often implanted without any particular regard for their impact on the size and spatial distribution of human settlements, or for the subsequent impact of these variables on the development process itself. It is not surprising, therefore, that when specific policies are implemented which do seek to influence the pattern of human settlements, they are often not effective. The "inertia" of other government policies and of the broad dynamics of socio-economic change are far more powerful than the specific policies.

In our review of specific policies which have been pursued at least in part for their potential impact on migration and settlement patterns, we found that some simply did not work and that others tended to have the opposite impact of that expected. Our tentative conclusions may be summarized briefly as follows:

1. Attempts to return rural-urban migrants to their rural areas, or to prevent them from entering the city seem to be largely unworkable in the cases examined. Not only are these programmes ineffective but they encourage a number of undesirable side effects, such as corruption. The presence of such programmes would seem to indicate an inadequate appreciation on the part of the government of the causes of rural-urban migration.

2. Land reforms and other programmes which are designed to bring about social justice and increase farm production will at best have only a short-term and limited impact on the exodus from settled rural areas. This is particularly the case in successful programmes which eventually lead to a reduced demand (or a slowing in the rate of new demand) for labour as productivity increases. A long-term regional plan which includes land reform would therefore also include other policies designed to absorb surplus labour which will be generated in the land reform itself.

3. Attempts to redirect migrants to alternate locations, either virgin rural lands or intermediate "growth pole" urban areas seem to have been successful in many cases. This is partly because these approaches require a more integrated approach to planning, in which the confluence of employment opportunity, services to attract and hold migrants, market circumstances and economic infrastructure must be considered together. These approaches do of course have their problems. The provision of adequate economic infrastructure to a region in order to permit or encourage growth is often much more expensive than at first it would appear, and hence the more successful programmes of this kind are often found in countries where the governments have considerable financial resources at their disposal, or where there exists a combination of market circumstances which will attract private capital and initiative once some initial government investments are made.

4. Conscious programmes to reinforce metropolitanization

and encourage rural people to move to the large cities by providing special housing and employment opportunities have scarcely been tried in developing countries, due in great part to the existence of fears about the negative impact of such settlement patterns on the quality of human life and the cost of social services. Yet, in many countries the net impact of government investments and programmes is (unintentionally) designed to encourage metropolitanization. Since the negative impact of the continued growth of large cities is largely hypothetical and not yet tested empirically, we shall have the opportunity to see whether in fact it is correct as future evidence on this matter is collected. Programmes which seek to reduce the cost of providing housing and essential services in metropolitan areas tend to increase the likelihood that metropolitanization will become identified as a viable strategy for development, at least under some circumstances. ■

POLICY OPTIONS FOR GOVERNMENTS

Although there are infinite minor variations in how governments deal with the problems facing cities swollen with an influx of rural people, it has been found that their policies fall into four broad categories, as described by Dr. Laquian in accordance with the research studies on rural/urban migration he has directed in different parts of the world.

(A video transcription)

Laquian: The governments, in about 16 cities we have studied, have tried practically everything, but we can categorize them into four different types of policies. The first one is to try and stop the flow at the source, which is to keep them on the farm. The second one is to rechannel the flow of people to other towns and intermediate cities. Third, there are attempts to decamp the cities by moving the people from the cities to the rural areas, and finally, there are very desperate attempts to solve the problems of squatters and slum dwellers in the large cities themselves.

Interviewer: What is the least successful of these attempted solutions?

Laquian: I think the least successful are attempts to stop the flow of people to the cities, as exemplified by the attempts in Jakarta, for example, to try and have an internal passport system to prevent people from coming in.

Interviewer: And what do you consider the most interesting examples which might prove a guideline for the future?

Laquian: I think, based on two specific country cases, those of Malaysia and Cuba, we have very good examples of how people can be encouraged to stay where they are, and this is by providing them the necessary services in the rural areas themselves. For example, in Cuba we have found they provide even four-storey apartments, free housing, television sets, refrigerators, etc. to keep the people where they are. This is an attempt to really bring the city to them, rather than them going to the city.

Interviewer: Do you mean where they are in their old villages, or do you mean bringing them together and clustering them, in one centre?

Laquian: They are clustered in specific centres. By the way, this is not a new strategy; the Spanish conquistadores tried to reconcentrate people into rural-urban agglomerations, attempting, as they said in the old days, to put the people within the shadow of the church bells—in other words, they were aggregated as small villages or pueblos. The Cubans are doing this, except that they're doing it with very modern ways.

Interviewer: And in Malaysia?

Laquian: The Malaysian example is quite similar, not in these terms but in terms of what the people do. You can keep them on the farm, even if they have seen Paris, only if they have jobs there. Now, resettlement efforts have primarily been related to giving the people a chance to be self-sufficient on the farms. The Cuban and the Malaysian examples show, however, that you've got to give them jobs, which means cash crops. In Malaysia it is rubber and African palm oil; in Cuba it is citrus and sugar cane.

Interviewer: What do you think is essential for a government to consider when looking to the future in its national planning?

Laquian: I think the essential policy viewpoint is to treat the four types of policies I have mentioned not as separate ones but to integrate them into a national urban strategy. In other words, you will have success if your four types of policies are meshed together in a comprehensive plan where the sectoral economic plans are also related to the spatial or territorial plan. Only in this way, I think, will it be effective. ■

Recommendation A.2

Human Settlements and Development

- (a) There are fundamental relationships among the distribution of population, environment, economic activities, and the pattern of human settlements. National policies for economic and social development can no longer afford to neglect or minimize the role of human settlements.
- (b) A NATIONAL POLICY FOR HUMAN SETTLEMENTS AND THE ENVIRONMENT SHOULD BE AN INTEGRAL PART OF ANY NATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY.
- (c) *An integrated human settlement policy should:*
 - (i) Be formulated through a truly interdisciplinary approach, concurrently with policies relating to other aspects of social and economic development;
 - (ii) Be formulated at the highest political level, in co-operation and co-ordination with regional and local levels as appropriate;
 - (iii) Be consistent with the preservation, restoration and improvement of the natural and man-made environment, cognizant of the positive role of environment in national economic and social development;
 - (iv) Be directed at all settlements, rural and urban, dispersed and concentrated, old and new;
 - (v) Be considered in all efforts to implement the New International Economic Order;
 - (vi) Take into account the changing roles and responsibilities of women and the impact of developments and programmes on women, both as participants and beneficiaries.

Recommendation A.5

Settlement Development Strategies

- (a) An effective human settlements policy concerned with progress requires a strategy which confronts all the relevant issues, makes the necessary choice of means and options and indicates trade-offs in resource and time dimensions. That strategy should also reflect the hierarchy of human settlements and allow for future changes.
- (b) NATIONAL HUMAN SETTLEMENTS STRATEGIES MUST BE EXPLICIT, COMPREHENSIVE AND FLEXIBLE.
- (c) *Such a strategy requires:*
 - (i) Definition of socio-economic variables and physical development patterns, and of guidelines for staging and degree of concentration of development programmes;
 - (ii) Designation of the body responsible for policy formulation;
 - (iii) Active participation of all governmental bodies and non-governmental organizations concerned in policy formulation and strategy development;
 - (iv) Active co-operation and participation of all sectors of the population must be obtained;
 - (v) A means for periodic review to take into account new important developments;
 - (vi) Particular reference to the major infrastructure networks—transport, energy and communication—and the essential administrative and financial systems.

LAND REFORM AS A FACTOR IN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PLANNING: JAMAICA

Excerpts from report presented at the workshop by Alvin Burnett, National Planning Agency, Kingston

Jamaica, with an area of 4,411 square miles, is endowed with relatively few natural resources on which to support its population of two million people. Its principal physical resources are 2.7 million acres of land, of which approximately 50 per cent is suitable for agriculture, large deposits of bauxite and the scenic beauty, warm climate and white-sand beaches which provide the basis for a tourist industry. Given the limited amount of land resources in relation to population, it becomes crucial in the planning of Jamaica's social and economic development that every effort is made to ensure that land is put to its very best use. . . .

Efforts to improve the levels of living of the majority of the population and to effect a more equitable distribution of income and wealth in the society are extremely difficult in the current setting of an economy faced with such problems as:

- small size of markets and monopoly controls;
- high levels of unemployment and underemployment;
- shortages of skilled manpower;
- inflationary pressures;
- large balance of payments deficits;
- relative inefficiency in the production and marketing of goods and services;
- low rate of domestic saving and investment;
- urban congestion, sub-standard housing and malnutrition;
- maldistribution in the ownership of land resources.

The last mentioned item in the partial list of problem areas given above has been given priority in the Government's programme for social and economic development, and an attempt will be made in what follows to outline the steps which have been taken recently in Jamaica to effect a more equitable distribution in the pattern of land ownership and land use, the objective being to ensure fuller utilization and greater productivity of this resource while assisting to reduce the imbalance in the distribution of income and wealth. Although there is an urban dimension to the physical and economic planning of land use, the paper will concentrate on the rural aspects of land use, mainly as this relates to agricultural development. . . .

The larger farms generally occupy the best agricultural lands on the plains, while most of the smaller farms occupy lands on the steep and rocky slopes, thereby intensifying the income distribution effects. Much of the land occupied by large farms is in sugar cane production. However, during the last twenty years, the bauxite mining companies have become major land owners, although much of the land purchased by these companies remained in agriculture. While the intensity of land use on several of the larger farms has been quite high, it has been found

that there are many large and medium sized farms with idle and under-utilized land. It is within this context that the Government has sought to effect a more equitable distribution of land so as to increase the intensity of land use and raise the levels of agricultural production.

Recent Land Policy

Faced with a worsening balance of payments problem and a rising food imports bill in 1972, the Government undertook to place greater emphasis on bringing all agricultural land into full productive use as a part of its programme for integrated rural development having agriculture as its base. The Government's philosophy for rural development is to create the basic infrastructure which will provide rural people with easy access to adequate facilities for housing, water, health and education, as well as improved facilities for electricity, transportation and communication. Within such a rural setting the climate would be created for agriculture to expand output and increase productivity within the framework of existing and potential relationships between agriculture and the other sectors of the economy, particularly industry and tourism. . . .

The action programmes undertaken by the Government in relation to land reform and rural development since 1972 can be discussed under the following headings:

1. Land Acquisition and Settlement
2. "Operation Grow" Project
3. Land Utilization Law
4. Rural Development Project

Land Acquisition and Settlement

Government has been engaged in the purchase of land for the settlement of farmers since 1929. By 1959, some 180 planned land settlements existed and about 10,000 freehold titles had been issued. The early land settlements were, however, largely unsuccessful in that farmers were given land without the accompanying means for developing them and that much of the land involved in the programme was of low fertility and limited productive capacity. . . .

The land acquisition programme undertaken in the early 1970's included the purchase by the Government of the sugar cane lands of three of the large sugar estates. . . .

An important decision was made in 1972, however, not to settle these lands by freehold tenure but instead by leasehold tenure, with such settlements being on the basis of workers' cooperatives. . . .

Based on the success which has been achieved so far there are plans for rapid duplication of this type of cooperative unit. The experiment in cooperative farming is also being tried on

other properties acquired by Government, for crops other than sugar, especially where these properties were farmed by a large number of tenant farmers at the time of acquisition.

Another recent development in the matter of land acquisition has been the decision of Government to purchase lands in the ownership of the bauxite companies. . . .

"Operation Grow" Project

In 1972 the Government initiated the programme Operation G.R.O.W. (Growing and Reaping our Wealth) which was designed to expand the production of food crops as quickly as possible as a means of replacing and substituting for certain food imports and for the expansion of traditional exports. . . .

Project Food Farms was established to bring into production as state farms large acreages of Government-owned lands which were held for settlement. . . .

Project Land Lease is being developed in three phases. In Phase I, supplemental acreages are rented to selected existing farmers whose farms are too small to produce above the subsistence level. . . .

In Phase II of the Land Lease Project, supplemental acreages are sublet to small farmers on Government-owned lands and for periods up to 49 years. . . .

Phase III of the project is designed to settle full-time farmers on units which will generate a minimum of net farm income of \$2,000 per year. Unlike the two other phases of the project which require minimal infrastructural development, Phase III requires comprehensive development of the Government-owned properties to facilitate settlement. This involves the pro-

vision of roads, housing, water, electricity and land improvement works prior to allotment. . . .

In all three phases of the project, settlers are provided with access to credit facilities (usually in the form of physical inputs), marketing services and technical advice. . . .

Project Self-Help, which is a continuation of the Self-Supporting Farmers Development Programme financed jointly by the Government of Jamaica and the Inter-American Development Bank, is a loan programme designed to assist medium-sized farmers with potentially viable units in bringing their holdings into full production. . . .

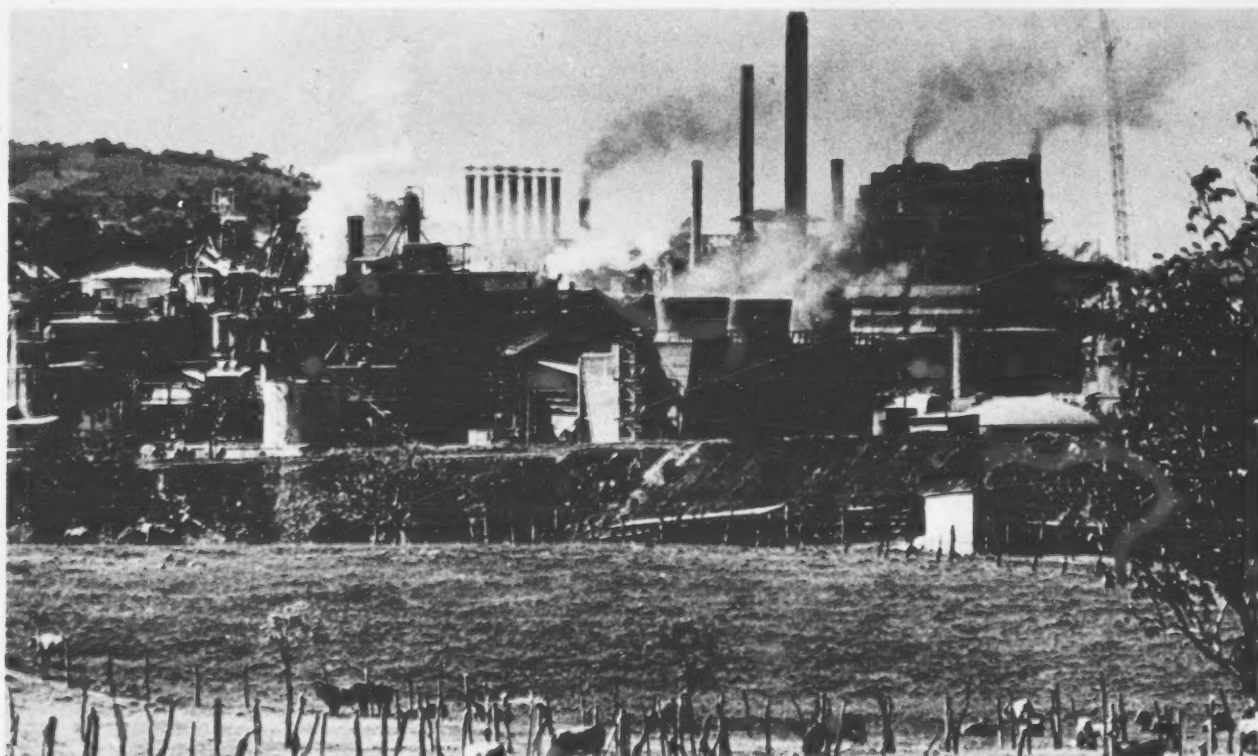
Land Utilization Law

Under this legislation, the Land Utilization Commission was established in 1966, with powers to inspect farms of over 100 acres in size and enforce more intensive use of lands declared "idle." The Commission has approached its task of bringing idle and under-utilized land into productive use with great caution. As a result, the legislation has not been effective in achieving its purpose and it is known that there are a considerable number of farms under 100 acres in size with idle or under-utilized arable acreages. . . .

Rural Development Project

In order to secure the necessary coordination in the programme for land reform and integrated rural development, certain proposals were accepted by the Government to affect the structure and working relationships of the implementing Ministries. . . . ■

Bauxite plant near Spalding, St. Elizabeth, Jamaica



NEW APPROACHES TO AGRICULTURAL REFORM

Thomas Henderson

Director, Agricultural Extension
University of the West Indies, Trinidad

(A video transcription)

Henderson: As far as changes within agriculture itself are concerned, we think, for example, in terms of changing the systems of agriculture to make it more attractive to people in the rural areas, to the farmers. On the other side we think of changes in the rural sector, making out-of-agriculture employment available.

Now if we may extend this a little more, with regard to changes in agriculture, in the agricultural sector itself we may think in terms of trying to remove some of the drudgery from agriculture. We've talked of mechanization in some situations, but not mechanization as it's generally conceived in more developed countries, not the huge machines but less sophisticated types which simply make it less of a backbreaking sort of enterprise for individual farmers.

As far as the non-agricultural sector is concerned, we're thinking in terms of getting industries, whether it be agro-industries or other industries, into the rural sectors to provide the sort of employment opportunities which will induce rural people to stay within the area rather than drift toward town and city employment.

Interviewer: Would you agree that any redistribution of land will tend to slow down migration from countryside to town?

Henderson: Yes, very much so, because in the Caribbean, from our experience it's been found that many of the people who move to the urban areas do so because of lack not only of employment opportunities but of opportunity for self-employment. There is no land available, with the distribution pattern of land in the region, with most of the land being owned, in the majority of cases, by large land owners, and the small farmers, the small rural families having very limited areas of land. As the rural population increases, you find little land available for the increase in population.

With land redistribution the objective should be to provide some form of self-employment, preferably in agriculture, for the people, and so land redistribution can stem this tide, this flow of people from the rural to the urban sector.

Interviewer: Could you describe various kinds of distribution?

Henderson: There are various types in the Caribbean right now. We have examples in Trinidad, in Grenada and in some of the other Leeward and Windward Islands. Let's take the Trinidad example. There have been several attempts at land settlement in Trinidad, even following the First World War with the returning soldiers. The attempt was to provide small plots, 2-3 acres, in the hope that this would provide some form of opportunity for agricultural employment for those people. But it turned out that this didn't prove successful, because in the first place it soon

became evident that they could not support themselves and family on those small acreages. The result was that these became merely household plots and the would-be families became urban workers. They commuted to the towns and only built houses and lived on those areas. Further, with the system of inheritance there was soon fragmentation even of those small plots, and in a very short time these became merely resident housing areas rather than areas where farming could be practiced.

Years later a slightly different approach was tried. Larger plots of about 5 acres were established. But no resources were made available, apart from the land, to those settlers. These farmers, or would-be farmers, had to provide sustenance for their families, and without any inputs from outside their limited resources, they could not at the same time develop the land and provide a suitable living for their families. The result again was that they sought employment elsewhere, usually in the towns or the city. In this particular situation, in most cases these settlement areas remained undeveloped, and many of them, in fact, were abandoned after some time.

The more recent development in Trinidad, after these experiences, is exemplified by a development project where the government provided all the necessary inputs initially for the livestock farms, for dairy farms for example, 15-20 acres were provided; the pastures were developed, fences established, farmhouses as well as dwelling houses established on the land; a core number of animals, milking animals, were provided, and then the farmers were put on to the land. They were granted—I think for 2 years—a grace period, and following this, from the third year or so they began paying back and had some 20-25 years to repay the investment in the land, which then became freehold. This has proved less than totally successful, but the success or failure is dependent, in my opinion, not strictly on the basis of the system but more on the method of selection of the people who were established on these farms. I think selection of settlers is a most important thing, and I don't think proper criteria were established and followed in selecting the people to place on those farms.

In Grenada there's another system, where with the government's programme of land for the landless, large estates are acquired by the government and then cut into small plots and handed out to farmers, again on a freehold basis. This system we can fault, not merely in the ideas behind it, but how it operates. The plots into which the original large estates are cut are so small that a family really can't make a living on them. What is going to happen, I think, in a short time is that again these are going to become purely residence areas rather than farm-



School garden in Trinidad, part of the Government's nutrition education programme

ing areas. The unfortunate thing is that most of those farms which had been acquired were among the more productive farms on the island.

In Dominica and Monserrat and some of the other islands, they have recently established land development authorities—I think it's on the basis of the Jamaica land authorities—and the idea there is to settle farmers on acreages of around 7 to 10 acres, but they have introduced a system—or they're hoping to introduce a system—in which they're going to determine what is going to be grown on the farms and not leave it to the farmers to decide on their own what they will grow. So there will be some direction as to what production is going to be, under what conditions. The government will provide some form of management service so that they will be able to monitor what is done exactly. Now there's hope for this; this has not yet got under way, and we can't say what the results will be, but we're hopeful about it.

Another situation on land use changes—if you want to call it 'land distribution'—has taken place in Saint Kitts, where the island is almost totally dependent on sugar. Originally the whole arable land area in Saint Kitts was owned by some eleven or so families, who controlled the lands and were responsible for all the production. The government, I understand, at one time recognized that cane development was not what was desired. Production was decreasing; the producers, the large estate holders,

were not investing in sugar, so that the island was suffering because its economy depended upon sugar production. So with this degradation of the sugar industry they decided it was time to do something about it. They in fact alienated, took over, the entire sugar industry. I think they were to pay the owners for the lands which they had alienated. There was a court case about the whole thing, but the long-and-short is that the government has now completely taken over those lands. They have established an organization—I think it's called the 'Sugar Industry Rescue Operation'—which is now given the authority to manage the entire sugar industry of the country. In addition to this they're also working on a sort of expansion of the scope of agriculture, not only totally depending on production of sugar but going to food crops production, introducing new crops—peanuts, for example, is one of the things they have introduced—and they're getting small farmers to operate some of the lands of the previous large sugar estates. So this again is another pattern of land redistribution taking place.

Interviewer: In agricultural economies with which you are familiar, is it possible to make a choice between concentrating on crops which will be successful because they are competitive in the world market or because they will satisfy local and regional needs? Is this the sort of choice that is practical to make?

Henderson: I don't think it's an either-or situation. I think it's a

case of having both situations in the picture, because in order to have your foreign exchange you need to have a maximization of your export crop production, particularly since most of the territories in the eastern Caribbean—except Trinidad, which has oil—most of the countries depend upon agriculture for foreign exchange. But at the same time because of the very large import bill for food—in Trinidad, for example, import food bill for 1974, I think, was over 200 million dollars—it is very necessary to try to reduce the large imports of foodstuffs which can be produced in the region. So I think one has to concentrate on one or the other but try to give attention, considerable attention, to both sectors.

Interviewer: Assuming that you have a vibrant agriculture which is persuading people to stay on the land, is there something else in the way of community structure that will encourage them still further to stay there? Will the growth of intermediate centres, growth centres with additional amenities from what they would expect in a small village persuade them to stay there rather than move to the town, or is this not relevant in the distances of the Caribbean?

Henderson: Oh, yes, it is very relevant in the Caribbean. I think one has to recognize that people move to the urban areas in many instances because they are attracted to the amenities which are provided in the urban areas. If one could provide—if not in the extensive manner which obtains in the towns and the cities—if one could provide in

the rural areas, in the rural towns some of those amenities, then one would tend to keep the rural population within the rural sector.

Interviewer: What are those amenities, in the case of Trinidad for example.

Henderson: Not being facetious, but humans, like moths, seem to be attracted by light, bright lights. So if you can provide good electrification in the rural sectors, you could have cinemas, good shows; if you could have sporting facilities the individuals, particularly the young people, who are sports-minded would not have to go into the cities to have the opportunities for excellence in developing their particular talents in sports. If you could provide parks—because even in the rural areas you want parks where you can have leisure and recreation. This is the sort of things that if you could provide in the rural areas, then people would certainly remain there rather than drift towards the towns.

Interviewer: One last question. Does the tourist industry have an effect upon the stability of the rural economy?

Henderson: As I see it, by and large in the Caribbean—particularly in the eastern Caribbean—the rural sector does not seem to be affected very much by the tourist industry. So far the necessary linkages between, say, local agriculture and the tourist industry, have not been established nor has there been any great development of the small-scale hotel . . . ■

Recommendation C.16

Services for Rural Areas

- (a) For reasons of cost effectiveness the traditional approach to community services more often favours concentrated population, leaving the rural population at a disadvantage. Provision of services in rural areas will help to reduce the migration to urban areas.
- (b) GOVERNMENTS SHOULD DEVELOP NEW CRITERIA FOR INTEGRATED RURAL PLANNING TO ENABLE THE GREATEST POSSIBLE NUMBER OF SCATTERED AND DISPERSED RURAL SETTLEMENTS TO DERIVE THE BENEFIT FROM BASIC SERVICES.
- (c) *Special measures may include:*
 - (i) Promoting the concentration of rural population and consolidation of scattered and dispersed clusters and homesteads in rural areas for provision of adequate service facilities;
 - (ii) Promoting the establishment of service centres in appropriate locations in the rural regions to benefit the maximum possible number of people in each area;
 - (iii) New approaches to education to adapt it to the needs of training and informing the rural population, including complementing traditional methods and channels with audio-visual aids;
 - (iv) Training of semi-professional staff drawn from the area to be serviced.

MAKING AGRICULTURE PAY

Dr. Lewis Campbell

Head of the Agricultural Division
Caribbean Development Bank

(A video transcription)

I think in discussing the small farmer and rural development I should set the background, which is one of failing agriculture in which the efforts of both the small farmer and the large-scale plantation agriculture are declining.

The plantation system is dying because its management does not fit the present trends—the high cost of labour and the other inputs which prevail at the moment are not the right ingredients for traditional plantation management of the past. There is need for fundamental restructuring of the plantation economy—a complete change or abolition of the plantation system, its replacement by something else. There is need to replace the peasantry, to make a more viable economic exercise in which the farmer gets a high enough income to afford him the comforts in life and to change the character of work in agriculture so that the farmer regards it as something that is worth doing and can be done with a certain degree of pride.

We are looking at restructuring agriculture to provide goods on a national basis, for the national economy, and not just the question of settling people in the rural areas. People are one ingredient of a successful and economically sound agriculture. We're trying to base this on small family farms whereby the incomes derived from these farms would be sufficient to provide the family with the standard of living to which they aspire; and also to design a type of system which would change the character of the small farm operation, making it more respectable, if you want to use that term.

In doing so you have to change the whole fundamental structure of agriculture in terms of the services that you provide, and national policies will have to be geared to this. General agriculture reform has to be established. In the Caribbean Development Bank we are beginning to go ahead in this—one can't wait indefinitely, and these national plans take some time to

A forage harvester machine is explained to students at Colombia's Technical Agricultural Institute



Allocation of Resources

- (a) The resources available for improving the quality of life in human settlements are limited when compared with people's needs and expectations. Those resources are also too often misallocated; where resources are especially scarce the human potential is often ignored.
- (b) THE IMPROVEMENT OF QUALITY OF LIFE IN HUMAN SETTLEMENTS MUST RECEIVE HIGHER PRIORITY IN THE ALLOCATION OF CONVENTIONAL RESOURCES, WHICH OUGHT TO BE CAREFULLY DISTRIBUTED BETWEEN THE VARIOUS COMPONENTS OF HUMAN SETTLEMENTS; IT ALSO REQUIRES THE PLANNED USE OF SCARCE RESOURCES AND THE MOBILIZATION OF NEW RESOURCES, IN PARTICULAR HUMAN CAPACITIES.
- (c) *Particular attention should be given to:*
 - (i) Making true social costs and benefits the basis for policy decision and evaluation, and not only material product;
 - (ii) Allocating resources on a spatial as well as sectoral basis, with a view to improving efficiency and accountability;
 - (iii) Encouraging self-help, self-reliance and the organization of interregional solidarity;
 - (iv) Research priority for critical factors in the development of human settlements, especially energy and technologies;
 - (v) Development of new sources of finance, with suitable terms and conditions.

develop. We're trying to develop programmes whereby you take lands that are available for production, develop them into production units in which the family is the main ingredient and the family has a commitment to develop and manage the unit to obtain a desirable income and at the same time produce at the right price for the market. All the other services will be integrated with the programme of development. Technology will be brought in substantially. Hopefully the productivity per acre of land and per unit of human effort will be sufficiently high to bring rewards to the farmers' efforts and allow a nation to achieve the greatest production possible from the land resources at its disposal.

We are prepared to finance as much of the operations as possible in terms of the political, human, social and other realities in the area. Our intention at the moment is to find projects whereby we put funds in the development of these family farms in a sort of integrated programme, working on a regional basis. It could be an area basis, or a catchment type of development where you bring in the economies of scale. We have a number of these at the moment in operation in several of the territories, and we're looking for more of this type of programme.

You might say that we are probably jumping the gun in that we haven't fitted this thing in to an overall national plan. But I think it is worth starting even on a pilot basis. We can benefit from the experiences that we acquire in the period that national plans are being developed for restructuring agriculture, if that ever takes place.

The point I should make here is that our programmes are meant to strengthen the economic base of agriculture, and not basically to influence the movement of people in agriculture. Agriculture is not to be regarded as a sector to absorb unemployables or the unemployed. Agriculture is an economic proposition where you're producing goods for a market. It is not a social exercise. If you want to settle people in the rural areas, you have to find other types of occupations for them. Some of these occupations could be based on industries allied to agriculture, and in our integrated programmes there will be some of these.

If you carry the basic product to a secondary stage in the processing, all the other services required in the production and the processing aspects of agriculture commodities could be undertaken in the rural areas. That is the area, I think, you have to look at to absorb a substantial part of your population if you feel that you have to keep people in the rural areas. In other words, why should you put a spinning mill down in the cities if you grow cotton in a particular area of the rural community and you have the basic services for spinning? You put the mill in the rural area if you think the urban areas are overcrowded.

The ancillary operations to agriculture and the things that follow the production of raw materials could be concentrated in the rural areas. I think this is where you could influence, one way or another, the movement of people if that is desirable, but agriculture—the production of raw materials from agriculture—is not likely to absorb large quantities of labour if agriculture is to be economic and self-supporting. ■

SURINAM

Development Plan for the Interior

The delegates from Surinam to the workshop brought with them a specially prepared report on plans and projects underway in that country. The following are excerpts from it.

Since the beginning of the colonization of Surinam, first by England and then by the Netherlands, men have concentrated on the low-lying fruitful coastal area. For this reason, beyond that rather small coastal strip the land has hardly been developed. Even in recent decades, when development assistance from the Netherlands has increased, attention has been focused almost solely on the already favoured coastal strip. That part of the interior which is of no interest for mining remains a forgotten territory. The bush negroes and Indians living there, who have not had the facilities and opportunities that were developed on the coast, are left to their primitive way of life. Consequently, an increasing number of this neglected population group trek to the capital city in search of work or better living conditions.

The trek to the agglomeration of Paramaribo is increasing, especially in the last few years, which has given rise to serious social tension. It is not expected that this will improve; on the contrary, it is not an unfounded fear that in the near future the interior will be seriously depopulated.

The bush people who trek to Paramaribo leave the influence of their tribal authority. They do not conform immediately to the established lawful order in the coastal area and thus live in a vacuum with regard to law. This leads to increased criminality, since the unschooled and inexperienced bush population have the least possibility of employment where unemployment already exists.

As sources of the urbanization problem, the following can be stated: a) the almost total lack of job opportunities in the interior; b) the unattractive prospects for future opportunities; c) limited training possibilities; d) the one-sided defective production of food, often causing food supply problems; e) the entertainments of Paramaribo—cinema, sports, dances, etc.; f) lack of shops in the interior; g) lack of drinking water and electricity in many places; h) shortage of medical care; and i) the psychological lure of the seat of prosperity. Thus, while there is the nomadic tendency of the bush population, it is very obvious that it is less a question of attitude than one of bitter necessity that causes them to leave their accustomed surroundings to lead a marginal existence in the town.

Production and investment structure

The traditional forms of production in Paramaribo and environs, and the old-fashioned production structure dating from the earlier slave and contract workers period that goes with them, are mostly concentrated in a relatively small area all along the coastal strip where more than 70 per cent of the Surinamese population live and where practically the whole national production is carried out. This old production area has been

exploited for 300 years, and since the beginning of the present development activities it has naturally been the area of reorganization in agriculture, forestry, mining, industry, commerce and technology, as well as in the social sectors. This old production area has for centuries been under great influence from Paramaribo and predominates strongly in the total national image.

The interior has specific problems different from those of the coast:

- (a) *infrastructural*: communication is extremely difficult;
- (b) *economic*: very limited industrial activity; agriculture is barely differentiated and done primarily on an excessive cultivation basis;
- (c) *governmental*: all the attention of the government is taken up by the problems of the coast, leaving little opportunity for consideration of the problems of the interior;
- (d) *socio-cultural*: the people, because of the above points and because of specific cultural qualities, are not included in the national development process and remain behind other population groups in development, which leads to unrest.

Not only the capital and its surrounding production area but the whole of Surinam ought to be developed. Steps must be taken that will lead to a gradual inclusion of the inhabitants of the interior in the modern socio-economic system of the country.

The trek to the capital should be checked by making available better living conditions and job opportunities. Especially with the coming of independence it is necessary to break the socio-economic isolation of the inhabitants of the interior and to integrate them as soon as possible in the development process of Surinam. They should be able not only to be self-supporting but also to make an active and proportional contribution to the increase in national production.

The new vision

The government has, through the Government Declaration of 1974, made nation-wide development one of the most important goals of its programme. Necessary structural reforms in socio-economic and political fields must be carried out and the production system straightened out and improved. In 1974 the Planning Bureau drew up a long-term social plan for develop-

ment centres in districts and the interior, which states:

"Next to the national goals that are purely economic in nature (e.g. growth of the national income and increase in work opportunities), there have been formed in the field of social planning a number of national development goals. This is, however, from the point of view of an integrated national approach. It is noted that choice is given to a social development that is economically justified.

"The following national development goals have been formed: a) decentralization of subsistence possibilities, social security, population and work opportunities; b) the standard of living of all citizens should include provision of good and appropriate education, housing, food, medical care and clothing; c) equality and equivalence of all citizens, viz., equal chances to obtain positions in the social structure.

"The national development plans must be aimed at the whole populace of the whole country and not at special groups, regions and sectors.

"The Government takes the view that the greatest results can be obtained only through the efficient organization of the preparation of the plans—drawing up, execution and control—combined with well-balanced financial and monetary management, whereby every form of luxury and waste is out of the question."

The development plan

In order to make a start, six central developments have been planned. These are aimed at concentrating scattered populations by creating work opportunities alongside an attractive housing project.

For the time being agriculture is the principal means of earning a living, and work opportunities in this sector must take a central place at least in the foreseeable future. The old excessive cultivation system that is generally still practiced must be replaced by more permanent forms of agriculture. It is planned to cultivate, in phases of about 200 ha. per year, areas of at least 1,000 ha. bordering the projects. The location of these farming areas must not be too far from the housing and must depend on a precise scientific ground investigation. Further, the introduction and development of cattle breeding, beginning with small breeds, should be pursued. An agrarian co-operative system is being considered which in the beginning would make use of the present social hierarchy of the bush population.

Besides agriculture, thought is being given to work opportunities in secondary agrarian small industries and the working of wood and forest products. The houses in the village will be built as much as possible with cement blocks and wooden building materials that are manufactured on the spot. Since the mining industry is for the most part carried out by hand with the help of chain saws and small towing tractors, job opportunities are possible in that sector. Another possibility for additional income is in the development of tourism, especially in the Marowijne area.

It is intended that each housing project be not too far from the agricultural area and situated on a river. In its centre the government workers will first be housed and the individual housing lots will be allotted as the agriculture develops, whereupon with government assistance dwelling houses will be built by the inhabitants themselves. The housing plan of the village will take into account the present social organization of tribes and clans and the rank order of dignitaries. It is to be expected that in the future this structure will gradually change.

The new housing community must develop itself as soon as possible into a self-supporting centre. It is planned to form a village pay office from the rent of the houses, since it is not intended to supply the building material free to the inhabitants. The percentage of the building costs that the new home owner should pay will be decided upon precisely, according to his

capacity. A percentage charge for the services of the co-operative may also provide another source of income. The services centre in each new community will consist of housing for a department of the district administration, a clinic with a few beds, a police station and an agricultural extension service. Teaching and guidance will also be provided.

Advantages of the projects for Surinam

—The housing and living conditions of the bush populace will be considerably improved.

—Urbanization, and to a certain extent the emigration to the Netherlands, will be checked.

—A large number of working areas will be created. The projects offer the possibility of attaining a balanced, prosperous spreading of national resources with a minimum income for each citizen.

—Healthy living communities are formed through which an inventory and exploitation of the country's natural resources can be efficiently carried out.

—The land will be better used through large-scale agriculture in the interior as well as on the coast.

—Locally grown foodstuffs and other agricultural products will replace much of the imported produce.

—Production will be greatly increased by the use of modern agricultural methods instead of the present excessive cultivation basis of working the land. Through good leadership and service assistance as well as guaranteed sales, the agrarian population will be stimulated. ■

Interview with Leendert Sloot, Rural Government and Decentralisation, Paramaribo, Surinam

Interviewer: What would you say is the principal cause of the movement of people within Surinam?

Sloot: The principal cause, as in many places in the world, is simply that there are no jobs available. The conditions in which people are living are very bad. There are few schools available, and where there are schools there are no teachers, because they have to come from Paramaribo. The teachers do not want to go into the interior. There is also a lack of water supply and electricity. People also move to Paramaribo because jobs there are better paid. People in the hinterland are no longer interested, they don't like doing agricultural work.

Interviewer: What do you plan to do to change this steady drift? Do you have a plan?

Sloot: Yes, there is a plan, a development plan that goes back ten to fifteen years. The policy is to spread the development all over the country. So far only Paramaribo and the surrounding area is developed, but for the hinterland there is a project ready to start now.

Interviewer: What form does this plan take, the creation of new settlements?

Sloot: Yes. People in the hinterland live under very poor circumstances. They are half naked, they only eat cassava bread dipped in the water of the river, eaten with fish or meat. They live in small villages. It is hoped that in this project we will build bigger communities by taking smaller villages and putting them together where we can do more for these people of the hinterland.

Interviewer: How big will such a community be?

Sloot: About 5,000 people.

Interviewer: Will it have its own schools, health services and

factories?

Sloot: All kinds of services will be built in these bigger communities—schools, health services, a church. The main activity of these people will be agriculture because at the moment this is the only thing they know about. Of course, there are other possibilities; for example, forestry, and timber. Companies from abroad are very interested in gold mining, and this will provide some other possibilities.

Interviewer: Do you plan to have training in agricultural methods, for example, in these settlements?

Sloot: Yes, that is one of the most important things we will start with—an agriculture school for agricultural training. If we continue to produce things on the shifting cultivation base, we won't have any increase of production. We will start with new and modern agricultural methods—new at least to the people in the hinterland. The maroons are used to a shifting cultivation, slash-and-burn methods.

Interviewer: Bringing them into one centre may be a cultural problem as well?

Sloot: No, we don't expect this as we are not going to mix people of different tribes. We only are bringing people together who are from the same tribe. There are six big tribes in Surinam, and we will not mix Paramacaners with Aucaners. Only Paramacaners are brought together in one community.

Interviewer: Will it be possible for the villagers themselves to have any kind of say in the sort of settlement that is being created, or is this too new an experience for them?

Sloot: There are two ways of doing this. You can start at the top

and work to the bottom, or you can start at bottom and bring this plan to the top. This plan has started from the top and we have had many meetings with the maroons and we have exchanged ideas and of course they have their own organized structure.

Interviewer: But if their culture is one of shifting agriculture, do you think they will stay in one place, in relation to one settlement?

Sloot: We expect them to stay because there are other new things in the settlement, e.g. cattle breeding and a lot of other things which will not cause them to go everywhere. They have the possibility now to stay at one place, and a better way than shifting cultivation.

Interviewer: Has the drift of people caused the creation of slum areas and marginal settlements on the outskirts of the city?

Sloot: Yes, Paramaribo has grown bigger now, and near the city the slums are expanding. The people in the slums are from rural areas and the hinterlands, and the way of living in the slums has caused our government many problems.

Interviewer: Do you have any programmes to deal with that?

Sloot: There have been many meetings with people in the interior, and people there and people in the slums around Paramaribo have heard of our projects and daily they have been coming to the Ministry to find out when we will make a start with the projects. So we expect that as soon as we have made a start they will move from the slums of Paramaribo back to the interior where they came from. ■

Recommendation B.10

New Settlements

- (a) The expansion and renewal of existing settlements is sometimes not appropriate, and new settlements can then be appropriate. They can also serve to stimulate under-developed regions or be associated with exploitation of specific resources.
- (b) NEW SETTLEMENTS SHOULD BE PLANNED WITHIN A REGIONAL FRAMEWORK TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL SETTLEMENT STRATEGIES AND DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES.
- (c) *Special attention should be paid to:*
 - (i) The use of new settlements to improve and harmonize the structuring of national settlements network;
 - (ii) Relating new settlement programmes to the renewal and expansion of existing settlements;
 - (iii) Integrating the new settlements with regional and national plans, particularly with regard to the distribution of employment;
 - (iv) Flexible phasing of programmes over time to accommodate important changes in the rate of growth, age structure and social composition of the population;
 - (v) Applying innovative social and physical design concepts and technologies, including architecture at the human scale;
 - (vi) Avoiding social problems, especially social segregation and isolation;
 - (vii) Establishing optimum densities according to indigenous needs and means, and in accord with the social and cultural characteristics of the inhabitants.

THE POWERLESS PRODUCERS

George Huggins

Programme Officer for the
Caribbean Area, Food and Agricultural Organization

(A Video Transcription)

What I am concerned with primarily is this lack of power of the peasantry. You see, I conceive of society as revolving around the production process, and we have to see the farmer in society as a producer. I feel that those who produce should necessarily control the direction of the society. In the Caribbean, where farmers, primarily small farmers, are the major producers, we come to this contradiction of the Caribbean society—and I assume of all agrarian societies of the Third World countries—that the major producers have no control over the destiny of the country and therefore do not control their own destinies.

Some of the solutions that we have seen have not worked. Land tenure pattern changes, accumulation and provision of services for the small farmer, direction of large-scale rural development projects, including integrated rural development projects, are to some extent an improvement on projects which simply make land available or make credit or marketing or a number of other services available to the farmer. My problem is that he is just a recipient of services without very often being able to determine, first of all, what these services *should* be, and second, what these services mean to him as a contributor to society.

There has been in contemporary practice an attempt to answer that problem by the notion of what is called popular participation. But usually popular participation means no more than consultation with the farmer about what he needs and does not go much beyond that. It does not allow real power within the farming community to determine the use, for in-

stance, of the surplus of production. So you have farmers producing, creating wealth in a society where the institutions that determine the overall, global objectives of that society are not within his control. You find this contradiction—to a great extent the farmer supports the services of a society against which he is alienated. I think this is the big challenge that planners have to face.

One of the ways by which one can plan—perhaps the *only* way—is through the mechanism of a central agency and a central government. If one has to transform the nature of society and therefore the nature of institutions of that society, including the governmental institutions, so that they relate to farmers as a producer community—how can a planner plan for that? How can a government whose support institutions are dominated to a great extent by concerns and interests which are often alien to the farmer acquire the capacity to transform its planning process to include the farmer? It is a challenge which must be faced because otherwise it will continue to be a matter of providing mechanistic answers and planning processes, which bypass the fundamental problem.

Each time one bypasses the fundamental problem, one decreases the capacity of the farmers as a community, as producers, to control these institutions, and consequently one increases the power of those institutions to bypass, almost to exclude, the farming community as a producer community, and consequently one increases alienation. This is the dilemma of planners. ■

Recommendation F.9

Reaching The People

- (a) Programmes designed to assist less developed regions and less privileged groups often fail to achieve their intended objectives for various reasons: cumbersome administrative procedures; inadequate information, lack of awareness of intended beneficiaries or unrealistic requirements.
- (b) INSTITUTIONS AND PROCEDURES SHOULD BE STREAMLINED TO ENSURE THAT INTENDED BENEFICIARIES RECEIVE THE LARGEST POSSIBLE SHARE OF RESOURCES AND BENEFITS.
- (c) **Special emphasis should be placed on:**
 - (i) Adopting open decision-making and public accountability for use of funds;
 - (ii) Instituting greater local control in the management and administration of settlements;
 - (iii) Minimizing bureaucracies and overhead costs;
 - (iv) Removing the role of intermediaries in citizen involvement.

THE TRANSITION OF MARGINAL FARMING COMMUNITIES

Jan Carew, Director of the Caribbean Organisation for Rural Development and Education (CORDE), Surinam, opposes the belief that the only way to deal with rural problems is to superimpose the apparatus of metropolitan technology and metropolitan methods. CORDE seeks to assist marginal farming communities to enter the twentieth century, bringing with them essential elements of their culture and history.

(A video transcription)

The question of development in the rural sector means first having a conception of the rural man and woman in the context of total society, a developing society, as people who can participate fully in all sections of planning and implementation of programmes affecting them. All too often we think of the rural problem as something which begins by someone in the city sitting in an air-conditioned office and making out the blueprint which they are eventually going to present these people for their own good.

Our societies are predominantly rural. Urbanization has taken place historically in a way that very often has had very little to do with the intrinsic welfare of large sections of the population. Industries were developed for metropolitan markets overseas, and cities were located for strategic reasons, for reasons of trade, and we inherited this from the colonial days. I feel we should begin to re-examine this kind of thing, setting out to plan and setting out to involve the person in the rural area in transforming the conditions that he has inherited, which are fairly appalling in many ways. When one talks about the countryside to a member of the population anywhere in the Caribbean, it immediately brings to mind squalor, living without electricity, carrying water for long distances, using firewood for energy or other basic, elementary sources.

Modernization of this is reduced largely to rhetoric by politicians who are coming seasonally to gather votes and saying to the population, 'we will do this for you'. But in integrating the idea of change into a programme involving education and economic development, a consciousness of the history of the people who are going to be developed takes on a different kind of conceptual apparatus.

Gilberto Freyre talks about his Brazilian peasants saying the world did not exist until a man said that it existed, so we begin from that point to say that rural development does not exist until one conceives of it as a very intrinsic problem affecting a total population in a certain region, mostly the tropical belt, where we've inherited a number of clichés and untruths. There is a belief, for example, behind all the developmental planning, that the tropics is inherently an unhealthy and backward region and that the only way to deal with its problems is to introduce

the entire apparatus of metropolitan technology and metropolitan method to obliterate everything that man has in this region—the culture, the history, and so on, the important things that will eventually motivate him to achieve the objectives he is moving towards. These important things are being obliterated, and then you bring in a sort of ersatz, borrowed culture which is going to overwhelm his own culture and supposedly lead him into some happy, euphoric state where he's entered the twentieth century.

At CORDE, we see our role largely as a catalyst, in which we engender programmes which can assist in the transition of marginal farming communities so that they can enter the twentieth century bringing along some of the culture and the history of the people. We encourage them to take over the apparatus of modern technology only as it applies to the particular needs of their community—and not only technology but culture. We feel that the whole of the world's culture is there for people to select from it whatever is useful to them.

Our community in Surinam is a community of 800 maroons some distance from Paramaribo, the capital city. One has access to it only by river; it's the traditional means of communication. This community, whether we operate in it or not, is entering into the twentieth century. Its young people are moving to the city in search of jobs because the kind of marginal farming and industry that exists there cannot cope with the developing population. There has been some rudimentary introduction of public health facilities, which has caused the population to increase, but there has not been a parallel development so that this new population can be included in the traditional economic apparatus that exists in the community. So we are attempting to use this as a base from which to carry out this transitional operation. We've examined what the people have—their tradition of woodcarving, of communal living, of administration where everything is done by consensus, where the heads of families and clans meet to discuss problems and then attempt to solve the problems. All of this is brought into our agricultural programme, the programme of bringing land into modern agriculture production and having a school and technical workshop attached to our agriculture project. ■

POPULAR PARTICIPATION

A filmed discussion with Sybil Francis, Department of Social Work, University of the West Indies, Jamaica; Louis Pinder, Town Planner, Trinidad; Russell Carroll, Physical Planner, Bahamas

Pinder: In some countries popular participation is seen as fundamental to the planning process. We have seen attempts of this kind of participation in Cuba and I'm sure that it exists elsewhere. In the rest of the Caribbean, however, participation is generally *ad hoc*, and it is seen very often as an obstruction by central government planners. What do you think should be the role of citizen participation in these countries and in what ways do you think it should be organized if any participation is to take place?

Francis: Well, I think that if we're talking about any kind of programmes which involve the participation of people for its success then it is essential that this aspect of it be built in from the very beginning of any kind of programme.

In the community development programmes which have developed in Jamaica we have had many examples of projects which have been successful because they were based on this component of being planned by the citizens themselves. On the other hand, we have also the horrible examples of tremendous waste of money and other kinds of resources because programmes in agriculture, for example, have been planned with a focus on crops and not on people. And we have had some even more recent examples of programmes which have shown how successful things can be when the people are involved in the development.

One recent example has been a regional development programme in a rural small-farming area which was undertaken by the university in collaboration with the people themselves. The objective was agricultural development, but the focus was on people. The essential component was using indigenous organizations wherever they exist—organizations in which people are involved. In this case it was an organization known as the Jamaican Agricultural Society, which is a very old farmers' organization and which goes way back into the mountains and organizes people at the local level.

Here they had the small farmers from many districts covering a large region coming together and deciding that they wanted to do something about developing their area. The first project that was undertaken was a study of the area, which was done on very scientific lines. This is where the University came in and the questionnaires were compiled and the interviewing was done, and they were compiled in consultation with the farmers. The interviewing was done by experts who were particularly trained, but the farmers themselves went around with the interviewers and introduced them to the people who were being interviewed and said, "This is our man who is helping us with our project" and they got what I think was probably one of the most correct surveys that has been taken on this subject.

At the end the material was analysed and taken back to the people, who then formed their own committees to deal with the different aspects of it—health, agriculture and so on—and they called in the government officers to be their experts and their resource people so that we had a situation that instead of the agricultural extension man trying to persuade farmers to use fertilizers, the farmers said, "Our land needs fertilizers. You come and tell us what we should use." They developed this, they bought their own fertilizers on a co-operative basis, then built a headquarters, again using only resources that would be available to any other group. They use this headquarters as a store room, as their business centre, as a recreation centre. I visited there recently with my students. They now have a literacy programme going and various cultural programmes. They also have started, and this is very important, a very large and modern agro-industry. It is a citrus growing area largely, and they have got a factory now to manufacture "mixed peel." They will eventually have a monopoly of this for the whole island. It's being marketed through a company, but all the people who work in this factory have shares in it, and it is being run co-operatively, on very modern lines and they have great plans for expansion.

The whole operation is done by the people themselves. Their motto is "With our own hands", and the farmers told us very proudly, "We don't want the government to intervene in this. This is our show." I think that this is just one example of many successes which could be done when the farmers, the people themselves, are involved with the decision-making and managing.

Pinder: Was this agriculture organized on a committee basis, or is it just a group of individual farmers who are acting in concert with each other?

Francis: Oh, no, it was a large region which is a small-farming region consisting of many small—what we call—districts, or villages. And they had organizations in each of these, so it was the local peasant leaders who got together on this.

Pinder: Are you saying that popular participation makes the planning process more efficient, leads to the greater mobilization of human resources for development?

Francis: Yes, this is precisely what I'm saying, because I feel that any kind of programme which depends for its implementation on the people stands a much better chance of success if the people themselves are involved from the initial stages of it.

Pinder: Right through the planning process.

Francis: Right, people who have the particular skills for the organization of people should be included at all stages of the planning. Not only is the involvement of people an important component in the implementation of the plan,

but in the final analysis this is also the objective. The development of people and their participation in matters which affect them is in itself the ultimate goal, I think you will agree, of most of the plans that you are planning.

Pinder: True.

Carroll: Well, I totally agree with all that you have said, but I'm still wondering whether or not our present political system would often allow the participation of all the others. I think we need to modify our political systems to allow this.

Francis: Yes.

Pinder: I couldn't agree with you more, Russell. In fact, what this means is that planners have to go and do their homework—to determine the minimum amount of participation that is necessary within the system, the degrees of freedom. The system allows for participation, but what possible changes are required in order to implement the minimum amount of participation that is acceptable in this new planning process?

Francis: Why minimum?

Pinder: Well, at least a minimum, possibly the system can change and greater degrees of participation might be allowed later on. But at least that minimum has to be established. But, getting back to your point, you stated that participation should take place right throughout the planning process. Are you referring to goal formulation right through to implementation?

Francis: Yes, I am. I think that particularly at goal formulation because in many instances the goals which are set by the planners are very different from the goals of the people, and it is at the implementation stage where the whole thing can fall apart.

Pinder: You see, part of the problem that will arise here is the trade-off between local goals and national goals. They are not always compatible, and it often is very difficult to marry the two.

Francis: I think if local goals are at variance with the national goals you can be sure that the national goals stand very slim chance of being implemented at the local level.

Carroll: I know that this is an obvious example, but look at how we reach standards. Countries usually set up standards for the construction of houses and often in local communities, especially in the Caribbean, you find that people set their own standards, like the squatter dwellers. They are usually far below the national standards set by the country, and I think that this is probably one of the areas in which we have to incorporate the wishes of the community itself with our national goals.

Francis: The people themselves will probably aspire to better housing, but I think that it depends on the realities of the situation. Either you are going to build a smaller number of houses which in some instances, let's face it, are regarded as show pieces for the political set or you are going to build things which are perhaps much less beautiful.

Recommendation E.5

New Forms of Participation

- (a) Of all human endeavours, public participation is the one which can least afford to be isolated from current trends and changes in society, in so far as these affect the relationships between the governing and the governed, the professional and the laymen, the strong and the weak.
- (b) PUBLIC PARTICIPATION MUST RESPOND TO BOTH NEWLY EMERGING NEEDS OF SOCIETY AND TO EXISTING SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL NEEDS. THE PEOPLE AND THEIR GOVERNMENTS SHOULD ESTABLISH MECHANISMS FOR POPULAR PARTICIPATION THAT CONTRIBUTE TO DEVELOPING AWARENESS OF PEOPLE'S ROLE IN TRANSFORMING SOCIETY.
- (c) *Areas for special attention include:*
 - (i) Establishment, especially in rapidly expanding urban areas, of effective channels of communication between the people and all levels of government, as well as mechanisms for enabling people to attain full control and influence in the formulation and implementation of policy for the development of human settlements;
 - (ii) Establishment in large and medium-sized cities of neighbourhood councils capable of increasing public participation in city management;
 - (iii) Encouragement of the formation of farmers' and landless labourers' organizations, in the rural areas, in order to improve their condition;
 - (iv) Recognition of the changing role of women in society and encouragement of their full participation in development;
 - (v) Public accountability required of large corporations;
 - (vi) Public interest research and public interest law;
 - (vii) Active encouragement and support of all members of the public, to acquire the confidence and skills which will ensure their participation at all levels of human settlement planning.

ful and elaborate but will provide minimum or acceptable housing for a larger number of people.

I think that when you look at the whole picture of what we have been trying to say, the objective of all the plans and programmes in all of our countries is the improvement of the quality of life for people and human development, and therefore the involvement of people in these programmes is not only an essential component for

the success of the programme and one which, as I said, should be implemented at all stages but also it is, in the final analysis, the ultimate goal.

The participation of people in matters which affect their lives is considered to be one of the basic human rights of people—and therefore I think that the goals of all the planning, no matter what it is, are social goals for the social development. ■

UNCONTROLLED SETTLEMENTS*

Excerpts from an article by Callisto Eneas Madavo, Department of Transportation and Urban Projects, World Bank

... In spite of the near intolerable environmental conditions in which they live, squatters have up to now shown a surprisingly high degree of popular initiative and cohesion. Some experts on urbanization have suggested, and rightly so, that the newcomers to urban areas, who often constitute the squatter-slum population, are really a group of "pioneers" and builders of a new order in their societies who facilitate the transition from rural to urban life in many ways. Not only do they have to acquire skills and attitudes much different from those existing in the rural areas of their origin, but their motivations and behavioral patterns often change. In nations where ethnic divisions are pronounced, the bringing together of people in the cities often helps to weld a common nationalism. In this context, it is worth mentioning that mass political parties are usually more vibrant in shantytowns than in other parts of cities.

A popular misconception is that most squatters are unemployed. Surveys by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in different parts of the world have shown that this is not always so. As many as 90 per cent of squatter heads of household are usually employed. A significant proportion of them are self-employed in the informal sector—a sector characterized by small-scale, labour-intensive activities relying heavily on indigenous resources. The sector is unregulated and highly competitive and produces the kinds of goods and services affordable by a large part of the populace. Thus, while generally low paying, the informal sector plays an important role as a provider of employment, relatively cheap goods and services, and skills and competence essential for upward mobility.

Squatter settlements also represent a good illustration of self-reliant development. Their populations have been able to increase the stock of shelter, however poor the initial standard, by as much as five times the rate of public housing agencies. Nearly all the dwellings are built by self-help and on weekends or in the evenings when this labour is otherwise idle. The majority of such housing is owner-occupied, and continually being improved. For example, studies of squatter settlements in Zambia show that within the space of a few years, grass roofs are replaced by corrugated iron, and sun-dried brick walls by concrete blocks. Simultaneously, more rooms are added.

Public policy response

Unfortunately public policymakers have not always appreciated the productive potential of squatters. Governments have tended to harass "informal" sector economic activity (hawking, beer brewing, popular construction, etc.) in order to maintain the facade of "modernity" and "cleanliness" in their principal cities. Planners and decisionmakers have been preoccupied with the standards and esthetics of the urban enclave which results in servicing the few, and (through the enforcement of regulatory measures) stifling the creativity of the many. As a result, substantial resources have been wasted on planning resettlement and redevelopment projects, or worse, on spasmodic squatter demolition campaigns, instead of seeking to improve the lot of the urban poor.

An argument often heard to justify these attitudes toward squatters is that they have no business being in the city. Efforts have been made from time to time to send them back to the land. Lately, it has become fashionable to argue for rural development as a means of keeping potential migrants "down on the farm." It is, however, well known that "back-to-the-land" movements have generally not succeeded, except in those countries employing force verging on outright denial of human rights. Similarly, while rural development should be emphasized, simple models have been developed which show that successful attacks on rural poverty lead to increased migration to urban areas in the long term. In the absence of direct and production-increasing strategies to absorb new migrants into the urban areas, the poverty problem is likely to be shifted from the land to the towns.

In the early 1960s, several factors emerged which made large-scale eviction of squatters back to their homelands no longer tenable. First, was the increasing numbers of slum-squatter dwellers—over 200 million, as already indicated, by 1975. Second, squatters were becoming an increasingly well-organized and politicized power block...

Third, ideology has played an important role in public policy change. For example, in Africa a number of governments are committed to egalitarian philosophies. In such a context severe policies toward squatters become increasingly untenable.



In a squatter settlement near Kingston, Jamaica (photo: C. Srinivasan)

Intervention by outside advocates has also contributed significantly to changes in government policies. Through the 1960s a vigorous debate continued among social scientists on the desirability and the implications of rapid urbanization. Some saw so-called "premature" urbanization leading to parasitic slum-squatter settlements. Drawing on their empirical research in Latin American "barriadas", proponents of the opposing view saw squatter dwellers as "a remarkable example of popular initiative and creativity, as well as courage and involvement."

Aware that an effective strategy for attacking poverty in developing countries must necessarily promote both rural development and productive and efficient cities, international agencies began to look at unplanned communities more favourably. In 1970 the United Nations, with the Government of Colombia, sponsored an interregional seminar on Improvement of Slums and Uncontrolled Settlements at Medellin, Colombia. In 1972, the World Bank approved its first loan for self-help housing, including a small pilot squatter improvement scheme in Senegal. Concurrently, many governments, realizing the severe constraints on resources for development, began to promote self-help and self-reliance in urban development, incorporating squatter improvement as an integral part of housing policy. Today the World Bank is assisting such programs in Botswana, El Salvador, Indonesia, Jamaica, Kenya, Tanzania, and Zambia. Similar assistance is under consideration for Korea, Pakistan, Peru, and the Philippines.

The Zambian project

Zambia provides an interesting case study of an evolution in public policy toward self-help, including squatter housing. Prior to independence in 1964, migration to urban areas had been

administratively controlled through pass laws which restricted admission to those with official consent. Squatting was therefore a minor problem. With the advent of independence, rural-urban migration accelerated dramatically, and urban population doubled between 1963 and 1969 to reach 1.13 million, or 29 per cent of the total. According to various estimates, squatter population increased by between 19 and 25 per cent per annum over the period. That is, it doubled every three to four years.

In the mid-1960s—ahead of many other governments—Zambia began implementing "site and services" (serviced lots on vacant land), initially as a means of resettling squatters. By 1969, planned self-help housing was established to accommodate new growth. The Government accepted the fact that available resources were grossly inadequate for conventional contractor-built houses for every urban family, and at the start of the Second National Development Plan (1972-76), it instructed local authorities to provide serviced sites only. A review of the initial attempts to resettle squatters revealed that it was not possible to resettle all squatters, who by 1972 represented about one third of the total urban population. Therefore, as a corollary to its site and services policy, the Government determined to upgrade all improvable squatter settlements.

In 1973, Zambia requested World Bank assistance in the financing and implementation of its shelter program. A project was formulated comprising site and services and squatter upgrading affecting some 30,000 households, or about 40 per cent of the total in Lusaka at a cost of about \$40 million. Although not catering to all the shelter requirements in the capital, the project was seen as the first of a series within the national program. As the project was the first systematic attempt at squatter

upgrading (designed to improve four squatter complexes comprising nearly 24,000 households), it was also anticipated that the lessons learned in Lusaka would benefit other towns and cities throughout the country. This project got under way at the end of 1974, and the upgrading of the first squatter complex is expected to be completed by mid-1976.

The areas are being provided with water to standpipes, roads and drainage, and security lighting. Community facilities including schools, clinics, and multipurpose community centers (which will also serve as day-care and adult education centers) are being made available. The inhabitants will be given security of tenure in the form of a 30-year license to use the government-owned land under and immediately around their dwelling for residential purposes. Modest loans for materials are offered to enable residents to improve their dwellings . . .

Community involvement is a unique feature of the Zambian project. The residents are encouraged to participate in the planning and execution of the project. The objectives of the upgrading program are explained in the local language. A proposed layout plan for infrastructure and community facilities is presented, and the need to relocate some households is discussed. To give life to the sketch plan, the technical experts together with key representatives of the community walk the proposed roads and water main pathways. Comments on changes are invited and, where feasible, changes are made. The infrastructure routes are then tentatively determined and marked on the ground. A further period of consultation is allowed since all concerned can now clearly see the impact of the proposed works. Marginal adjustments are made and the final plan produced. . . .

Shelter policy

There is evidence from many surveys that the actual level of productivity and earnings by the urban poor, including migrants, are generally higher in urban areas than in the rural areas they leave behind. Migration to urban areas therefore apparently results in net gains to the economy. The contribution of such inputs to national productivity would be even greater were it not for institutional barriers; for example, regulations governing popular construction, and economic constraints that tend to stifle the initiative of the urban poor. There is also the almost total absence of institutional support (credit, access to serviced land, and markets) for informal sector activity, whether housebuilding or business ventures. Upgrading projects must therefore emphasize both reform and institutional support to informal sector activity.

Squatter upgrading schemes necessarily deal with backlogs. In the absence of a vigorous ongoing provision of land serviced to affordable standards, more squatting will occur, requiring yet more upgrading. This pattern is both economically expensive and politically unacceptable over the long term.

New serviced areas are essential for another reason. Not all slums and squatter areas are improvable—because of location, soil or slope conditions, size, accessibility to basic infrastructure, and employment centres. Improvements must therefore be accompanied by some relocation where necessary from the pathways of infrastructure, and of those living in unimprovable settlements. Unless alternative new areas are set up, improvement will either induce greater densities in upgraded areas, or expansion of those settlements omitted from the upgrading program.

Again, upgrading and site and services projects cannot be divorced from the measures aimed at the housing needs of the middle-income and upper-income groups, in order to ease distorting pressures on the allocation of new plots. If upper-income groups are not also adequately provided for, there is a tendency to pre-empt such plots from the urban poor much in the same way as conventional public housing programs do now. On the other hand, adoption of policies conducive to providing the middle-income and upper-income groups with shelter at economic rents can generate resources, of which some may be used to extend services to the poor. . . .

Low cost as they are, upgrading projects nevertheless still have to be paid for. Extensions to infrastructure and community services networks mean increased burdens on municipal finances. Although conditions and needs differ from country to country, the pricing of such projects has usually involved both implicit and explicit subsidies covering such items as land, water tariffs, and other features. Where there is scope for charging differential utility tariffs in order to cross-subsidize the poor, or to service other land (industrial or high-cost land) from which transferable surpluses can be generated, sustainable levels of subsidies to the poor need not create a problem. It must be admitted, however, that the rich are so few and the poor so many in most cities in the developing world that the scope for such transfers is necessarily limited. . . . ■

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SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS: AN EXERCISE IN SELF-HELP

Dr. Ramiro Cardona

Director, Area de Distribución Espacial, Corporación Centro Regional
de Población, Bogotá.

(A video transcription)

Interviewer: Dr. Cardona, you have conducted a number of studies of internal migration. Could you tell us something about the patterns of migration you have found in Latin America?

Cardona: The migratory patterns are very dynamic and are changing with time. Let me illustrate. Here we have the rural areas and the urban areas, and downtown areas. At the beginning we found that the population migrated from rural settlements to small towns in rural areas, and then they moved to what we call intermediate cities. Much of the observation shows that they moved downtown in the city, to boarding houses. Then, we found that the new tendency was to migrate directly to the downtown boarding houses from their rural settlements. They spent years there, organizing themselves, and then they moved to the peripheries of the city, to the squatter settlements.

Now, we have some evidence that the migration starts from the rural areas, from dispersed settlements and small towns directly to these squatter settlements. Why?

Most of the boarding houses that we have in our main cities are illegal, and for that reason they cannot increase sufficiently to meet the demands. The extraordinary quantity of migrants means that these houses are inadequate. For that reason we find that most of the migrants in this moment are going into any kind of shelter.

Interviewer: Some housing programmes provide a finished house, sometimes a multi-story house. Do you feel this is necessary, or do you feel that the squatters themselves are able to create their own type of housing?

Cardona: Experience has taught us that in several cases the squatters are more rational than the official housing programme. The methodology they have developed, I would say, has been taken into account not only for a new programme for the poor people but for any kind of housing programme. Their ways of developing their houses are very sophisticated.

Let me show you what I mean. Any kind of programme, official or not, needs different stages. The official approach is, first, they legalize the land for building in that neighbourhood. They design, they build, they sell the houses, and finally they build some community services.

In contrast to this way of building a community, the squatters first inhabit the land. Then, they begin to build their houses, and they continue building the houses for years and years. Concurrently, they start to build the community services, and they continue building and creating the community services for years. Finally, they legalize the land.



Let's take a closer look at the way in which squatters build their settlements. They start with a very traditional kind of house built with non-permanent materials. With time, they start to cover their whole house with permanent materials and when it is covered they destroy the house inside. With time they finish the first floor and start to build the second floor. They use the materials in a very rational way. About this time the local administration puts in electricity for the neighbourhood, and they will be able very soon to get light and probably to get water, and continue building the houses. In several cases we find that the standards of these houses are even better than the standards of the official programme.

Let's see now how the neighbourhood evolves. In the beginning they start locating in any empty place in the city, mostly on official land, not private land. With time they start to build a road, and they start to organize the space around the roads. Probably there will be other roads, and these elements close to the roads start to offer different services, like a school, like nursery, like church, shopping, etc. etc. We see how they create very interesting spaces, locating their houses around these roads, and sometimes when the government puts some sources of water, they organize the space around the sources of the water. These become very important places in the community. Eventually you will see that this kind of squatter

settlement takes very interesting forms. Very often we cannot distinguish which part of the city was planned and which part of the city was not. It all fits together very well.

Interviewer: This is a very interesting concept of the city you have presented. Would you then say that cities made up primarily of squatters and slum dwellers will be the wave of the future?

Cardona: The laws that are related to the concentration of population in the cities are the same or, at least, very related to the laws that concentrate capital and resources. If we don't modify our economic structure, our social order, we are going to deal for several years with this extraordinary demand for houses, and the government will be unable to give houses and services other than the kind we have been talking about.

But this kind of housing, of squatter settlements, even sites and services, can be only transitional solutions. That was the case in Cuba. They started doing this kind of sites and services, incorporating elements of the squatter settlements, but they are not working in this area any more. Then the cities don't have to look like this city I was talking about before.

Interviewer: So the future is not an urban concentration of squatters after all.

Cardona: Exactly. ■

Recommendation C.17

Reorganization of Spontaneous Urban Settlements

- (a) Residents of "spontaneous" or unauthorized settlements frequently organize with the intention of providing their communities with essential minimal services; however, some services are very difficult for households or neighbourhood communities to obtain without assistance.
- (b) GOVERNMENTS SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON THE PROVISION OF SERVICES AND ON THE PHYSICAL AND SPATIAL REORGANIZATION OF SPONTANEOUS SETTLEMENTS IN WAYS THAT ENCOURAGE COMMUNITY INITIATIVE AND LINK "MARGINAL" GROUPS TO THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROCESS.
- (c) *Special attention should be given to:*
 - (i) Giving public recognition to positive aspects and encouraging new initiatives;
 - (ii) Provision of appropriate forms of public assistance to individual or co-operative self-help efforts;
 - (iii) Encouraging public participation by providing financial, technical, informational and other forms of incentives;
 - (iv) Assisting in technical and administrative guidance for community services;
 - (v) Provision of special services to newcomers to facilitate their adjustment, integration and absorption;
 - (vi) Provision of adequate housing to migrant workers with easy access to community facilities and services;
 - (vii) Provision of essential social services in temporary settlements for workers, for construction of permanent settlements or special projects situated far from the permanent settlements.

SITES AND SERVICES

A videotaped discussion with Aprodicio Laquian, International Development Research Centre, Ottawa; Bernard Gouveia, Department of Transportation and Urban Projects, World Bank; Alberto Harth Deneke, Foundation for Minimal Housing, San Salvador.

Gouveia: When the Bank started sites and services projects it had a very strict definition of what was meant by "sites and services". It entailed new development of urban land and the promotion of self-help housing. The amount of variables in each scheme was very small because it was a pilot situation. Today it's a much more complex operation.

Now the projects that the Bank is working on would range from complete squatter settlement upgrading—without any components of sites and services, or with large community development components within it, or with components ranging from agriculture to nutrition, urban agriculture in some projects—to other, more mixed, projects as in Zambia, squatter upgrading, over-spill of squatter areas and growth of urban areas through sites and service, to projects that are still very traditional. The range of choice within the actual projects is much wider—in Tanzania ranging from the most basic sites in secondary and tertiary cities to traditional sites and services in Kenya and in other places. A much wider range of solutions is being explored within the concept of sites and services.

Laquian: I'd like to ask Alberto Harth Deneke, who has been directing work at the Foundation for Minimal Housing in El Salvador—exactly what type of housing do you provide? Do you have this range of housing that was mentioned by Bernard Gouveia?

Harth Deneke: We have a broad range of sites and services units provided, from just the basic service plot to a minimum dwelling unit with a material loans programme, so that we provide at least four or five sites and service types within the nine sites in El Salvador.

Laquian: This variety of sites and services approach bothers me a bit. Isn't it becoming a panacea, a cure for everything, an attempt to use one approach to solve so many of the problems which are rampant in the urban areas of the world right now?

Harth Deneke: I think you've hit on one of the main issues, as a matter of fact. I think that sites and services is not really a solution to basic social problems in a country. It's not going to solve the social equity problem. Sites and services basically is just a means of providing shelter for the urban poor who normally have not been permitted access to formal housing. So sites and services is not a solution to the social structure but rather just a means of expanding access to housing. This has to be complemented, as Bernard said, with other programmes to improve the existing housing stock. After all, most people live in cities already and in some form of housing and that housing cannot be eradicated.

Laquian: Bernard, I understand that one of the motivations of the World Bank for going into sites and services is an attempt to reach the urban poor, the bottom 40 per cent, in

the words of Robert McNamara, the Bank's president. Do you think this is being accomplished right now?

Gouveia: In our first sites and services projects, the main objective was to widen the scope of access to the housing delivery system. The emphasis was on the housing demand and not on social and economic needs. The demand for housing implies an ability to pay, and so we were not trying to reach the very poor in urban areas. We are now coming up with what we might call our 'second generation' of soul-searching. We are stretching downwards. The real problem is increasing the productivity of the urban poor and integrating them socially, economically and politically, because they're out of the mainstream of even the political mechanisms. They don't participate in the system. And the Bank is now facing this head-on. It came after President McNamara's speech last year to the Board of Governors. He said that although productivity is the main thrust of the Bank—for we can increase productivity—the provision of shelter, that is not the only way. You've got to create jobs and you've got to create a whole series of other things.

Laquian: I'd like to come to another aspect which is, I know, very important to Alberto, which is where you locate sites and service projects. In the original intent, at least, they are supposed to service currently unserved lands in the peripheral area. Aren't you afraid that this may create urban sprawl, that the servicing costs to the metropolitan governments will be much higher?

Harth Deneke: I think this is another one of the major issues with sites and services projects all over the world. They have not been conceived as part of urban strategies or part of urban plans because, for the most part, those don't exist. So the problems of urban services and urban land have not really been taken into consideration. Projects are developed without an overall framework. The problem of urban land use in larger metropolitan areas and of services to be provided is a crucial one. I think in the future they will have to be placed in a broader urban context to be more meaningful.

Laquian: Do you think that sites and services has a role in the development of intermediate cities and towns, so that you just don't worry about urban land but the whole national territory?

Harth Deneke: Sure. In El Salvador this year all of our sites and services projects are being located in the secondary cities.

Laquian: Do you think an extension of the sites and services concept would curb the rural-urban migration to San Salvador?

Harth Deneke: We think that rural-urban migration has to do with job opportunities, basically.

Laquian: And therefore sites and services may only be a marginal component of this?

Harth Deneke: Exactly.

Construction By the Informal Sector

- (a) The scale and nature of requirements for shelter, infrastructure and services in many countries is such that even with government help the modern construction sector is inadequate for the task. The so-called "informal sector" has proved its ability to meet the needs of the less advantaged in many parts of the world, despite the lack of public recognition and assistance.
- (b) **THE INFORMAL SECTOR SHOULD BE SUPPORTED IN ITS EFFORTS TO PROVIDE SHELTER, INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICES, ESPECIALLY FOR THE LESS ADVANTAGED.**
- (c) **Priority areas for action include:**
 - (i) Ensuring security of land tenure for unplanned settlements where appropriate or if necessary providing for relocation and resettlement with opportunity for employment;
 - (ii) Facilitating and promoting the development of the informal economy;
 - (iii) Providing sites and services specifically for construction by the informal sector, and taking the informal sector's spatial and locational requirements into account in all sites and services schemes;
 - (iv) Providing technical and financial assistance, including access to long-term financing, for low-income households to increase popular participation, self-help and other means of self-reliance;
 - (v) Improving government administrative structures and procedures to facilitate and guide the action of the people in improving their own settlements;
 - (vi) Restructuring the system for marketing and distributing of building materials and tools to favour purchase in small quantities at irregular intervals and under easy credit terms;
 - (vii) Providing financial and technical assistance;
 - (viii) Simplifying and adapting building and licensing codes without sacrificing recognized basic health requirements.

Gouveia: Sites and services is one solution within the housing-marketing system, but now, having set up a mechanism for extending the supply of housing services, we've got to look at urban problems and spatial problems too. Sites and services is only one solution to providing housing.

Harth Deneke: The provision of housing by itself is fine; it's a desirable goal, but through community development, through mutual help, sites and services projects can become the means of social mobilization. I think that the potential hasn't been probed yet. We're trying to do something in that respect. We're trying to develop sites and services projects along with co-operatives—production co-operatives, savings and loan co-operatives, community organizations, all done through mutual help.

Laquian: This self-help approach has physical implications, though. A number of policy makers do not like sites and services projects because they look too much like the original slum and squatter communities they are supposed to supplant. Do you think this is a valid complaint on the part of government officials?

Harth Deneke: It depends on how you define the slum problem. If you define it in terms of cardboard walls and plastic roofs with rocks on top, then your sites and services are just reproducing slums. But if slums are really more

basic things, like lack of tenure, lack of urban services, lack of participation in urban life, lack of opportunity, then sites and services are not slums, even though they may look like slums.

Laquian: How about the future of sites and services? What do you think is in store—will the same approaches be replicated, or will there be new trends?

Gouveia: I think sites and services will become part of the vocabulary of housing. It'll be one of the solutions. I think in the housing field we will continually—or we *should* be—extending the borders, the parameters of sites and services. I believe at certain levels in certain cities in the world, sites and services are not applicable; they've passed that stage. The squatters did the sites and services already, so that's over. Squatter upgrading might be necessary, but in the actual redevelopment and growth of these cities, I think sites and services might not be allowed.

Laquian: Sites and services provide opportunities for the squatters and slum dwellers. Some critics of the approach say that this is being soft on them, that providing this type of opportunity stimulates rural to urban migration, that the cities get even more inundated because the opportunities are there. What can you say to this criticism?

Harth Deneke: Well, I think that both squatter settlements and

sites and services units are for people, and that even if it does attract people to squatter areas, it just broadens the supply of housing, which should have an effect on the cost of housing in a particular urban area. So even though sites and services units do not eliminate squatter areas, by the mere expansion of the housing stock you're creating not only an opportunity for those who move into sites and services but hopefully lowering the overall costs of housing for the poor.

Laquian: The Bank has been in sites and services since 1972. Is there an effort to evaluate the experience of the World Bank, or to learn from what has happened and to introduce changes in the policy?

Gouveia: Yes, from the first project that the Bank was involved in, I think the Bank was very aware that this was a new area. They did a lead-up in which they evaluated various solutions. They opted to try the sites and services approach, and, from the very first project, there was a built-in mechanism for evaluating this approach on a constant basis. This is still going on. In some cases the Bank is very much involved in monitoring, but in all projects we've got a monitoring and evaluating component which invariably is carried out by the actual governments themselves. This process has already affected the ongoing project internally and has fed back from outside the project a broader understanding of sites and services, and, I think,

a broader understanding of the potentialities of the various solutions. Sites and services is not just a self-contained component; it's a whole approach towards urban growth.

Laquian: Alberto, is your project in El Salvador currently under evaluation right now?

Harth Deneke: Yes, we started an evaluation programme two years ago, and we have begun a new evaluation programme that is going to last five years. The effect of this programme is not so much to evaluate the administrative or mechanical aspects but rather to measure the social and economic impact of our sites and services programmes on the population. One of the things that we're mostly interested in is finding out what impact it has on social mobilization, in addition to obvious things like improvement of health, improvement of physical well-being.

Laquian: You mentioned social mobilization. Could you elaborate on that a bit?

Harth Deneke: Basically, what we're interested in is that the poor, who have been, as Bernard mentioned earlier, on the margin of the political, social and economic processes, can begin to participate in society. We think that through the execution of successful projects people will begin this participation and feel confident that they have a role to play in society. ■

Recommendation C.10

Aided Self-Help

- (a) The majority of dwellings being built in the third world today are being provided by the occupants for themselves, either alone or with assistance from small contractors and/or neighbours.
- (b) A MAJOR PART OF HOUSING POLICY EFFORTS SHOULD CONSIST OF PROGRAMMES AND INSTRUMENTS WHICH ACTIVELY ASSIST PEOPLE IN CONTINUING TO PROVIDE BETTER QUALITY HOUSING FOR THEMSELVES, INDIVIDUALLY OR CO-OPERATIVELY.
- (c) *Some important measures include:*
 - (i) Development of programmes for regularizing tenure and for adequately promoting popular subdivisions properly serviced and at prices accessible to low income people;
 - (ii) Simplification of procedures for acquisition of sites, short- and long-term finance, building permits and codes, and zoning;
 - (iii) Provision of infrastructure, on a partially or totally subsidized basis, in conjunction with shelter being provided by the people for themselves;
 - (iv) Incentive to the imaginative use of local materials, e.g. through demonstration projects and construction of prototypes suitable to local conditions;
 - (v) Stimulation of co-operatives for housing, infrastructure and services.

"VIVIENDA MINIMA"

The Work of the El Salvador Foundation for Development and Minimum Housing

(Fundación Salvadoreña de Desarrollo y Vivienda Mínima)

Alberto Harth Deneke, General Manager

In 1968, after the Rio Acelhuate flooded the village of La Charca in El Salvador, destroying more than twenty huts, an informal organization was set up, at the request and with the participation of the families concerned, to reconstruct the community. The project was directed and supported by specialists from outside the community. This was the beginning of "Vivienda Minima", as the Foundation for Development and Minimum Housing is popularly known, and from these early days a guiding principle has been the concept of constructing communities which respond to the capacities and needs of their inhabitants and which are planned with their full participation, rather than to norms and values set by outside technicians and officials.

After the Foundation was legally incorporated, the first Five-Year Plan was approved at the end of 1971. One thousand housing units were financed by the Inter-American Foundation. In 1973, the World Bank agreed to provide \$10.8 million to finance a sites and services programme comprising 8,000 housing units. During this period, the Foundation also initiated five new projects for more than 1,800 families, including three outside the metropolitan area of San Salvador. A Revolving Fund for Co-operatives was established and technical advisory services for the programmes set up. By the fourth year of its legal existence, the Foundation had become an institution of national significance in community and housing development.

Innovations

At least eight innovations can be identified with the work of the Foundation.

1. Conception of the problem

From the beginning, housing problems were treated as part of the general problem of poverty rather than as an isolated phenomenon. In the formal statutes of the Foundation, the objectives gave first place to human well-being and community development, with housing programmes merely one means of attaining these objectives.

2. Aim of participation

In order to avoid falling into the paternalistic patterns of traditional housing programmes, the Foundation has experimented with different types of individual and communal participation so that each project becomes an instrument of social change, both in the period before the families occupy the new settlements and afterwards.

3. Open solutions

The aim of the "open solution", sometimes called "progressive development", is to limit the technical intervention of the Foundation to the more complex elements, such as designing infrastructure systems, leaving the other components to the initiative and ingenuity of the community. This mutual help means a greater involvement by the people themselves; more attention can be paid to the needs of each family; and the whole process generates feelings of satisfaction and pride. The initial investment is lower, more unskilled labour is employed and no costly solution is imposed on poor families. A basis is created for promoting development and community organization.

4. Comprehensive development programmes

The need to involve residents in the functioning of their own community was recognised at the outset of the Foundation's work. The theory behind its "comprehensive development" programmes is not new: through participation in programmes which satisfy felt needs, both the capacity for organization and for self-esteem increase. The resulting positive changes in the values system, attitudes and behaviour make easier the integration of families in the new community. The foundation's experiences with its Co-operatives Revolving Fund, a technical assistance programme and an experimental Materials Revolving Fund have confirmed the desirability of relating housing programmes more closely to the comprehensive development programmes.

5. New housing priorities

In establishing housing goals, the Foundation's alternatives were, and still are: either to benefit a small number of families with "standard" housing, or benefit a large number of families with "non-standard" housing. According to international professional norms, "standard" housing includes a long list of components—roof, walls and floors, electricity, potable water, sanitary services with sewerage system, land ownership, permanent construction materials, minimum space per person, and so on—most of which are at present impossible to provide for the majority of the poor in El Salvador.

After some initial experience, the Foundation established the following levels of priority, in approximate order of importance:

First level:

- a) useful and easily accessible land
- b) temporary roof and walls
- c) electricity or some form of fuel
- d) potable water
- e) sewerage

Second level:

- a. sanitary unit (WC, shower)
- b. storm drainage
- c. semi-permanent openings
- d. permanent roof and walls
- e. floors and partitions

Third level

- a. permanent wall materials
- b. more permanent and secure openings
- c. permanent partitions
- d. interior and exterior decoration

To accept that an institution created to build houses should instead arrange for the construction of temporary structures that looked like squatters' shacks required the recognition of a new system of values and priorities incompatible with the "standard" model, and it was only after much discussion and internal doubts that the Foundation executed the country's first sites and services project with units that only included a sanitary core. But the figures spoke for themselves: an urbanized site with complete individual infrastructure and a sanitary unit requires approximately half the investment of the same plus a semi-finished dwelling unit. The prime consideration is to open up the supply of land and urban infrastructure services for families of limited resources, leaving the construction of dwellings to self-help efforts.

6. Evaluative research

Parallel evaluation programmes have been designed in housing and community development to enable the Foundation to make comparisons and to measure the direct and indirect physical, economic and social effects of its human promotion programmes; to provide it with continuous or periodical feedback; to compare the results of its programmes with communities which have not participated and also with those that have participated in different forms; and to assess the repercussions of its programmes in other communities, other housing programmes in the country and other local decision-making groups.

7. Creation of social consciousness

While education of the public has not been the main objective of Vivienda Minima, it is a secondary goal, and therefore the Foundation has prepared and distributed an illustrative booklet and audiovisual presentation and arranges tours of squatter settlements for government and private groups, ranging from housewives to professionals, to confront people personally with the present situation. More people are now aware that the problem of poverty in general and of housing in particular are national problems, and they are giving support to programmes of the Foundation and of other institutions.

8. Institutional alternative

Vivienda Minima is a new institutional alternative which has made an appreciable impact on one of the country's serious problem areas. The intention has been not to duplicate efforts of other institutions but to complement them, covering a sector overlooked by traditional housing programmes. As a private, non-profit organization it has placed itself apart from the politi-

cal considerations which affect many other public programmes and made it possible for the nongovernmental sector to make significant contributions and to obtain grants from local and foreign sources which are normally reserved for private institutions.

Seven Issues for the Future

The Foundation has reached a decisive phase in its evolution. It has proved that it is possible to execute truly economical housing solutions, it has set large-scale objectives, and it has succeeded in establishing credibility before national and international organizations. After a few years of legal existence, Vivienda Minima is playing a significant role in the community and housing development of the country. Where will it go from here and what is its short- and long-term future?

The institution will face at least seven important issues in its future action in El Salvador.

1. Will the efficiency and initial innovative action be maintained with the increase in operations, or will the Foundation become less active and more conservative?

A large part of the new ideas, the careful design of projects, the ease of contact among different departments, and the effectiveness have been due to the organization's scale of operations. During mid-1974, when the Foundation was carrying out projects for some 1,800 families, it had less than 50 permanent employees. What is the effect likely to be when it has multiplied its operations fourfold? Will it be able to maintain its agility, innovative activity and experimentation, and, at the same time, make the great impact established as its goal?

2. Will it continue helping the minimum sector and the lowest twenty per cent in income distribution?

The world's inflationary situation; the high cost of urban land; the cost increase for construction materials; financing based more on loans at commercial interest rates and less on donations and low interest credits; as well as the relatively lower income of the population at the bottom fifth of the economic strata: all this will confront the Foundation with serious problems in projects aimed at this poorest sector. The alternatives are not attractive. Either fewer of the poorest sector are assisted through the use of low-interest financing, or a larger number of families from the lower middle sector are given aid by means of commercial financing.

3. Will the Foundation be able to combine the social and economic objectives of human development with the objectives of the organizations that finance it?

As the Foundation acquires obligations with international financing institutions such as the Inter-American Foundation and the World Bank and with local entities lending support, such as the central and municipal governments, will it be able to maintain its independence and its own goals, or will it have to adjust to the monitoring of supporting bodies which do not have similar social objectives?

4. Will the balance between objectives and means be lost, with housing programmes then becoming the main objective?

From its beginning Vivienda Minima has emphasized the social and human content of its housing projects. With the increasing annual production of housing units and the consequent attention and organization which this requires, will it be possible to keep sight of the goal of promoting human well-being?

5. What are the short- and long-term impacts on participant families?

The experience of the Foundation's social workers and the evaluative research carried out in other countries show that significant changes occur in participants in housing and co-operative development projects. The purpose of the evaluative research is precisely to measure those changes. The critical question, however, is whether the changes are permanent or if, after a few years, a return to the original attitudes, values and behaviour occurs, thus impeding the progress of the poor. Theories of social change do not give us much help here and only through years of experience and evaluative research will we know if the impact is maintained without requiring continuous intervention from external agents.

6. Will a plurality of representation be maintained?

One of the more positive aspects of the Foundation's structure has been a plurality of representation in its different levels of decision-making and management which has supplied it with innovative ideas and independence of action. It will be necessary to establish internal policies and procedures for maintaining that wealth of representation in the future, even though sometimes that same plurality may cause complications in decision-making.

7. Has the Foundation's work to date been sufficient to establish a model of action, or will it be necessary to continue indefinitely?

It is perhaps the nature of institutions not to disappear but to grow or transform themselves through modification of their original objectives. At the end of its Five-Year Plan the Foundation will probably have reached the objective of establishing a new model of action for human development through programmes in the housing field and through community development. If setting an example were its only objective, the institution should disappear. But the problem itself will certainly continue.

Other issues also raise questions about the Foundation's future as a feasible institution in housing and co-operative development of the country. What is going to be the population increase, and how will the poorer sectors participate in the national economy? Will their participation mobilize long-term financial support? Which is the role to be played by the official institutions? Will the Foundation be able to obtain sufficient land to continue the massive programmes for new settlements? And, perhaps most important, in which direction will *Vivienda Minima* turn if it discovers that its human development aim is not an effective instrument for economic and social change at middle- and long-term? Its capacity to respond adequately to these issues will determine its feasibility as an institution in the future of El Salvador. ■

This article is derived from a translation of the article "Vivienda Minima, una experiencia salvadoreña" by Alberto Harth Dénke, General Manager of Vivienda Minima. Published in ECA, Estudios Centroamericanos, San Salvador, June-July 1974, Nos. 308-9, Year XXIX, pp. 453-463.

Recommendation B.8

Improving Existing Settlements

- (a) Settlement planning cannot merely focus on new urban development, for many settlements already exist. The improvement, renewal and rehabilitation of these settlements should therefore be continuous. They thus present a major challenge in improvement of quality of life, and of the existing fabric of settlements. When ill-conceived it may result in the destruction of the economic and social fabric of entire neighbourhoods.
- (b) SETTLEMENTS MUST BE CONTINUOUSLY IMPROVED. RENEWAL AND REHABILITATION OF EXISTING SETTLEMENTS MUST BE ORIENTED TO IMPROVING LIVING CONDITIONS, FUNCTIONAL STRUCTURES AND ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITIES. THE PROCESS MUST RESPECT THE RIGHTS AND ASPIRATIONS OF INHABITANTS, ESPECIALLY THE LEAST ADVANTAGED, AND PRESERVE THE CULTURAL AND SOCIAL VALUES EMBODIED IN THE EXISTING FABRIC.
- (c) *Special attention should be paid to:*
 - (i) Upgrading and preserving the existing stock through the development and use of low-cost techniques, and the direct involvement of the present inhabitants;
 - (ii) Undertaking major clearance operations only when conservation and rehabilitation are not feasible and relocation measures are made;
 - (iii) Providing for the welfare of the affected inhabitants especially with respect to employment opportunities and basic infrastructure;
 - (iv) Preserving the area's social and cultural fabric which may be the only *de facto* source of social services including care of children and the aged, maternity care, apprenticeship, employment information and security.

URBANIZATION, MIGRATION, AND THE AFRICAN FAMILY

The following extracts from a study by Kenneth Little and Anne Price of the University of Edinburgh point up contrasts between traditional and modern urbanism.

The principal factors concerning contemporary changes in the African family are features of urbanization and migration. It is true that south of the Sahara the great majority of people are still rural and depend mainly on subsistence, but larger and larger numbers of these people are becoming subject to new influences, mostly through their urban experience. Indeed, such is the pace of city growth that the population of many towns has doubled in ten years, in some instances trebled and, less often, even quadrupled. . . .

Although urban populations and social structure have dramatically altered in both size and complexity, this does not necessarily mean that in the African town domestic organization is a replica of that in the Western family. Still less does it follow that, as in highly developed countries such as the United States, Canada, and Britain, the outlook and aspirations of rural residents have necessarily become somewhat similar to those of urban-dwellers. True, African rural institutions, too, are affected by an urbanizing and industrializing influence, and there are positive signs of their becoming assimilated to the same corpus of customs and practices as in the towns. However, what makes the latter situation different is that the market economy generating changes has not yet absorbed the countryside. In other words, whereas Western farming and peasant communities have generally become an integral part of an encompassing urban-industrial system, most African rural people have merely adjusted to this system. . . .

Inhabitants of small towns, villages and the more remote rural areas who move into larger urban centres for wage employment continue to identify strongly with the people at home. For example, in Larteh in southern Ghana this feeling of belonging is such that even an educated man who works and lives with his family in Accra or other cities may send his wife and children back to Larteh to his or her parents' house, so that the children may go to school there, grow up to be "Larterians", and learn to feel members of this community.

Larteh is interesting in this regard because it was founded more than a century ago when its farmers played a major part in the establishment of the cocoa industry in that region of the country. The cultivation of cocoa has naturally brought about a greatly increased participation in the cash economy, and since Larteh farmers did not have adequate land they migrated to the adjoining state of Akim Abu Aka where they were able to acquire large tracts of uninhabited ground. Today, many of these men work full time and are assisted by their wives and children as well as by paid labourers. These activities are carried on from farming villages where, in effect, these people from Larteh "camp" for varying periods of time. Thus, from a random sample it was shown that 5 per cent of adults in Larteh visited their village weekly, 38 per cent once or twice a month, 35 per cent

once or twice a year. The rest said they never visited their village. This meant that although the 1960 census gives Larteh a population of 6361; most of the men and many of the women are, in fact, absent during the larger part of the year.

It is partly for this reason that Larteh is not a self-supporting community. Some crops, principally yams, cassava, cocoyams and maize, are grown on land situated roughly within a five-mile radius of the town. But money is needed to supply extra food and other wants, and it comes from those Larterians who work on their cocoa farms or in the cities. In fact, these people form the majority of adults of working age, and those in the towns comprise a wide range of semiskilled and professional categories. They include artisans, shopkeepers, soldiers, policemen, clerks and teachers who . . . pay frequent visits home. One hundred of these people were interrogated by a sociologist . . . who discovered that all except seven hoped to build a house in Larteh and only three did not expect to settle in Larteh when they had reached old age. . . .

There is another type of small town where the principal opportunities of earning money are local. This fact is illustrated in the Northern Province of Sierra Leone by the town of Lunsar, whose population of some 10,000 people has grown up almost entirely through the presence of a nearby iron ore mine. About 46 per cent of Lunsar's male inhabitants work for this mine or for contractors engaged in construction at the mine. . . . Besides catering for the needs of mine employees, Lunsar has also become a market and commercial centre for the surrounding countryside and the headquarters of the local paramount chief.

Lunsar was originally a mere hamlet of some thirty people. Since the great majority of its present inhabitants are recent immigrants, most families are of only a two-generation span. . . . The heads of some of these families hold important positions at the mine, and among this group there has been a switch from the traditional notion that the duty of children is to look after their parents. Instead, their fathers aim at providing them with a long and expensive education. . . . The families of clerical workers, teachers and civil servants, too, look forward to their children bringing prestige to their parents. . . . Finally, there are the families of men in unskilled work which are generally not far removed from rural society. . . .

Lunsar and Larteh have been compared because of their differing implications for urbanization and consequent changes in the family. True, both towns depend fundamentally on a monetary economy and, although their residential patterns are dissimilar, domestic organization is based mostly on units smaller than the extended family. However, although Larteh's population is large enough to be classified as urban, it is "rural" in many respects. Most of its members actually resident in the town are either part-time or full-time farmers, and every house-

hold cultivates at least a small plot of land within a radius of about four or five square miles around Larteh. The population is also remarkably homogeneous, about 95 per cent being native Larterians. A single language, Guan, is generally the domestic language, children learning it as their first language and using it in their early years. . . . The political structure too persists in its traditional form, and the major festivals still attract many people. . . .

In several important respects, therefore, the situation at Larteh appears to be broadly similar to that of some rural communities. . . . There is greatly increased contact with the outside world and economic changes have occurred, but these changes have taken place within the framework of the traditional organization. Consequently, even now there are not two traditions. There is still only one because "tradition is simply what people do". This means that despite the increase in scale, Larteh retains many qualities of the small community, with interaction on a personal basis.

In contrast, the great majority of the population of Lunsar are immigrants who . . . include representatives of a dozen peoples and tribes. There are Christians, Moslems, and animists; and in addition to tribal affiliation, religion and place of origin, one's education and job determine where a person chooses to live. To a large extent the two latter factors almost determine a person's associations because . . . there are some quite wide social as well as cultural gaps. Thus, in addition to one section of the community pursuing modern urban interests and the other traditional ones, an educated man tends to hold himself aloof from uneducated men, even when they have made money. He does not like to be seen conversing with an illiterate. Consequently, although traditional customs persist in Lunsar, the aspirations of many of its inhabitants are set in a Western direction; it is almost *de rigueur* to belong to a Christian church for this reason. Those who have well-paying jobs at the mine use the money to furnish their homes in modern style, and they regard monogamy as the proper form of marriage. . . .

In West Africa it is not only small towns such as Larteh which retain much of their rural character. Rural features are also evident in a number of Yoruba cities with populations of more than 100,000. Traditionally, Yoruba cities were inhabited mostly by farmers who grew their subsistence crops on a belt of land surrounding the city to a radius of fifteen or more miles.



Such cities were socially as well as economically self-contained, and kinship was the principal factor in and primary determinant of behaviour in every aspect of community life. Descent was traced through the patrilineal line; kinsmen sharing common patrilineal ties formed corporate units or lineage groups. Each lineage group, or a large segment of it, shared a common residence. Since farming was based largely on family and kinship, these institutions set the pattern of life in both city and countryside. Oshogbo, which lies today on the main road through Nigeria from Lagos to Kano, is one such town, and in recent years it has been affected by the influences already described. There have been changes in the politics, in education and in religious beliefs and customs. Underlying each of these factors is a system of values which stresses individual competition and achievement and judges behaviour on impersonal criteria.

Yet, despite all changes, including an increase in Oshogbo's population from 123,000 in 1952 to 210,000 in 1963, the patrilineal kin group has remained the predominant source and framework of social interaction. . . . Although the competing interests and values of new social forms have tended to weaken sentiments of common descent, notions of social continuity and the corporate solidarity of the patrilineage, these values have been by no means destroyed. The principles and structure of the lineage have merely been modified to accommodate the expression of conflicting values and to meet changing conditions. As in Larteh, they have thus been able to channel and contain these conflicts. Possibly this is largely because agriculture continues to be the basis of the economy, despite some specialization of economic roles, and because Oshogbo still has a stable, ethnically homogeneous population sharing a fundamentally unitary system of values. Also, apart from a few well-to-do traders and some clerks and teachers, the people of Oshogbo have a substantially uniform economic standard. As a result of all these factors and because persons are still compelled to conform to traditional norms and behaviour defined primarily by kinship, no sharply differentiated social class system has developed. ■

From Kenneth Little and Anne Price, *URBANIZATION, MIGRATION, AND THE AFRICAN FAMILY*, copyright (c) 1974 by Cummings Publishing Co., Inc., Menlo Park, California.

IMPRESSIONS ON A VISIT TO CUBA

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The UNITAR Seminar on Planning for Internal Migration, held partly in Jamaica and partly in Cuba, presented a welcome opportunity to visit Cuba and observe some of the developments made there since "the triumph of the revolution." In a sense it was appropriate that the Seminar should have these two as its location, for there have been some contacts between these neighbouring islands, dating back to the early years of the present century. It is in the first place useful to recall briefly some aspects of these early contacts.

One of the consequences of the Spanish-American War of 1899 was that Cuba came under the American sphere of influence. And under the Treaty of Reciprocity of 1902, Cuban sugar received a 20% preferential tariff in the American market. In order to take advantage of this new situation, American interests increased considerably their investment in Cuba, especially in the production of sugar. Expansion of its sugar industry called for increased supplies of labour, but these were not available within the country. Fortunately neighbouring Jamaica could readily meet this demand, because distress in its own sugar industry resulted in supplies of redundant labour on its plantations. These could easily move to Cuba because of shipping routes between the two islands which exports of bananas to the United States market were instrumental in establishing. The appreciable movement of Jamaicans to Cuba which thus came about forged links between the two islands, since many of those settling in Cuba, as well as their children, continued for several years to move regularly from one island to the other. In time these relationships subsided, but within the last three years efforts have been made by the present Government of Jamaica to revive them.

While a five-day visit, confined largely to areas around Havana and to the Isle of Pines, could provide very limited insight into recent developments within the country, the tours organized, the lectures and discussions in Havana suffice to furnish first impressions of a rapidly changing society, which form the subject of this paper. These impressions can best be discussed in terms of Havana, urban development plans, visits to urban centres, youth services and Prime Minister Fidel Castro's speech of 3 April, 1976.

Havana

One's impressions of Cuba must of necessity begin with reactions to the capital city Havana, which in fact was the base of the Seminar proceedings. This modern metropolis, with a population well in excess of one million, retains, according to those who knew it before the triumph of the revolution, much of its elegance, while all of its offensive features, it is said, have been removed. Its skyscrapers, constructed for the most part under the previous regime, give it an air of a modern Western city, but this has not altogether supplanted the long-standing Spanish influence. Tours of Havana did not reveal evidence of large-scale re-housing projects within the city, although many new

structures were to be seen. What most appeals to the visitor to Havana is its cleanliness and the excellent condition of its buildings. Evidently great care is taken to keep its streets and sidewalks spotlessly clean. Vehicular traffic is possibly less than that encountered in non-socialist cities of comparable size, but the quality of these vehicles is remarkable. A wide variety of the best European makes plies the streets, all in excellent condition. Even the many vintage vehicles, some more than 30 years old, are maintained in good running order and well painted. Also of excellent quality are the buses serving the city. In so far as tourist interests are concerned, they have at their disposal a fleet of modern buses equal to the best that Europe and America can offer. Limited contact with Havana's taxi services suggests that here also a good transportation system is provided.

On none of the tours through Havana was there any indication of slum areas, but this is not to say that these do not exist. One portion of the city deeply changed as a result of the revolution is its Fifth Avenue. Formerly one of the sections in which the opulent members of the society lived, this area has now deteriorated markedly in quality, with many of its buildings left uninhabited as their former owners have left the country.

Most of the large hotels constructed in pre-revolutionary days still function. The Habana Libre, where the Seminar was centred, now shows, in parts, the ravages of time. On the other hand the refurbished Riviera can stand comparison with the best in the world.

It appears that participation in all kinds of sport is widespread, with many of their centres located in Havana itself. Night shows at the hotels maintain high standards, but for entertainment at its best there is nothing to equal a night at the fabulous La Tropicana.

Lectures at Habana Libre

The Cuban sector of the Seminar was very well organized, with a judicious balance between lectures and field demonstration tours. As the focus was on internal migration, this formed the topic of most of the lectures. In addition there were very informative lectures on other allied subjects. These were supplemented by film shows, maps and various visual aids which helped considerably to illustrate the technical and administrative phases of urban planning in Cuba. Of special interest is the fact that Cuba has a Committee of Human Settlement whose functions include both the formulation and execution of plans for urban development.

The opening lecture on internal migration in Cuba demonstrated the changes in currents of internal migration throughout the history of the island. This led to discussions of the modern position, with emphasis on the plans to establish small towns in rural areas and what seems to be a serious attempt to stem the drift of population into the major metropolitan area. Most informative were the lectures on health administration in the

country, systems of vital statistics registration and organization of health statistics.

The advanced state of Cuban statistical services is known in technical circles; it was therefore most welcome to hear at first hand details of their administration as well as authoritative expositions of some major findings. A basic requirement of the systems in force is to ensure that institutional statistics are made available as soon as possible. This is essential to any Government which leans heavily on quantitative data in the formal construction and execution of its policies. What emerged from these lectures was the extent to which the state was making use of statistical data, not only to monitor progress made in various fields, but also to serve as the groundwork for the framing of policies.

From many technical publications by Cuban institutions, it was evident that valuable work was in progress in fields of infant mortality, infant health and health conditions generally. The opportunity to obtain further information about these studies confirmed views as to the strength of the country in the field of health statistics. Both Governmental agencies and the University of Havana's recently established Demographic Centre are active in many forms of demographic research.

Visits to Urban Centers

Informative though the lectures and discussions held at Habana Libre were, the general conclusion of the Seminar was that the excursions organized by the Committee of Human Settlements were the highlights of the visit to Cuba. These were designed mainly to show what was being done in terms of urban development in the country as a whole, in youth programmes and in social services. Examinations of projects dealing with these topics furnished at the same time some insight into the industrial and cultural life of its people.

A visit to an urban area being developed just outside Havana provided some information on the methods of construction used in urban projects as well as on the necessary supporting social services. While extensive use of prefabricated units is a major feature of construction employed, traditional techniques are

also relied on, especially, it seems, where unskilled labour has to be used. Clearly the involvement of two types of labour gives rise to the question of their relative productivity and cost. The impression gained from discussion of this issue with Cuban authorities was that productivity could possibly be increased if a larger supply of skilled labour was available.

The Seminar's visit to the polyclinic at this new urban site proved most instructive. This is a clinic providing comprehensive medical treatment and, evidently, modelled after centers of the same name introduced in the Soviet Union. Its responsibility is the provision of health care for the whole population of a given area. It prescribes medical treatment and medication for patients who do not require hospitalization. Any patient requiring extensive medical care is referred to the appropriate regional hospital.

Perhaps the most interesting forms of urban development in Cuba to-day derive from its programme for the establishment of new small towns within strictly rural settings. Whether or not complete freedom of movement from rural to urban areas is guaranteed under Cuban conditions is not altogether clear. In fact the requirements for securing a house may impose restrictions on complete freedom of such movement. The conclusion drawn is that the development of a range of small towns within rural areas serves to make the urbanward drift less attractive, by providing in these towns many of the amenities associated with modern urban life. The aim is to re-house rural populations, giving them accommodation vastly superior to what they were formerly accustomed to.

Two plans for the construction of small towns are in operation, both of which are evidently designed to re-house populations engaged in some form of agriculture. Under the first proposal, more than 200 centres are to be constructed. Each of these consists of about six four-storied apartment blocks, together with small shopping centres, for food, clothing and other necessities. Schools for small children and community centres are also provided. An apartment consists of two bedrooms, a living room, toilet and bath. Furnishing includes refrigerator, cooking facilities and television, which represent considerable

A bohio, the traditional Cuban peasant dwelling



advances over the amenities available in the traditional dwelling units which these new structures are replacing. At one of the two such towns visited, there was on display a housing unit such as existed in the past, which made possible comparisons between the former rural housing and the present enhanced standards of accommodation.

These new towns, spaciouly planned and well organized, contrast strongly with the traditional urban towns one encounters in Latin America. The difference lies not only in terms of types of housing structures, but more important in the absence of the church as a focal point in the modern Cuban town. Questions concerning the role of the church in these new settlements put to Cuban authorities elicited the response that complete freedom of religion is assured, but that this does not necessarily entail the provision of places of worship by the state.

The second and evidently more recent programme calls for the construction of just over 100 small towns with evidently some departures from the earlier plan. This second phase seems to rely less on massive blocks of apartments such as characterize the first phase. In fact the settlement visited by participants in the Seminar had apartment blocks consisting of only four units arranged in two floors. A novel feature of the design of this settlement is the provision of individual dwelling units, well finished and sited. These newer centres seem somewhat more attractive than the earlier and essentially functional ones.

Youth Services

In a society such as Cuba which places strong emphasis on youth, visits to educational, recreational and other institutions catering to the young population are essential. Several of these were organized for the Seminar. A visit to the José Martí Pioneer Camp illustrated what recreational and other facilities are now available to all children of the country. This camp, a former resort area situated near the seaside, provides holidays of one to two weeks' duration for students each year. Advantage is taken of the presence of large numbers to provide at the same time the necessary dental care, so that in effect both recreational and basic medical services are jointly administered at this Pioneer camp.

Further grasp of the programmes for the education of youth came from a visit to the Isle of Pines. Because of logistic prob-



Los Naranjos, a new rural community

lems, this visit proved shorter than the programme specified, but it still gave participants an opportunity of seeing many facets of the educational system, which constitutes such an important component of the socialist plans. Formerly the site of a prison, this island is now being rapidly converted to the provision of services for the young; in fact its new designation is Isle of Youth. As in so many fields of development in Cuba, agriculture plays a notable part in these programmes. Magnificent cultivations of citrus and mangoes are being established and evidently the schools located here contribute much to the production of these crops. Students are required to contribute work on the adjoining farms, so that education entails not only the acquiring of knowledge but also the performance of services for the society.

The co-educational institutions so far established in the Isle of Pines are merely forerunners of a large number planned, as this island is apparently envisaged as the focus of education for the youth of the country. Structurally, each institution, catering to several hundred students, consists of blocks of buildings not unlike those forming the nucleus of the small towns. Located in one of these are class rooms, laboratories, libraries and other teaching facilities, while other buildings contain living quarters and space for other necessary services. Much of the work of running these educational institutions is delegated to the students themselves. Facilities are provided for students to spend occasional week-ends with their families. That the educational programme is a rounded one, including cultural subjects such as music, dance and drama, was demonstrated by the concert put on for members of the Seminar on this visit. In addition to a group of patriotic songs, there were good performances of dances, folk-songs and instrumental pieces by the student body.

Fidel Castro's Speech of 3 April, 1976

To this observer, one of the most revealing pictures of the Cuban scene came at the end of the visit, when the party had boarded the Cubana plane for the return journey to Jamaica. It was in the form of a speech by Prime Minister Fidel Castro appearing in the English edition of *Granma* of 18 April, 1976,

Bus stop at Alamar, near Havana





handed to passengers boarding the plane. This speech was delivered at a youth rally celebrating the 15th anniversary of the Union of Pioneers of Cuba and the 14th anniversary of the Young Communist League. It illustrates the cardinal place of education of the youth in the Communist Party's policies.

This speech covers several issues relevant to the country's student body. A substantial portion touched on their dress, while other topics dealt with were the selection of student-teachers, the special roles of youth organization and the programmes for construction of schools.

In the present context, its most important section came towards the end when he introduced the topic of "formal education." He reminded his young audience that "the need to develop a sense of politeness, to promote a certain chivalry among men" was raised at the Congress of the Federation of Cuban Women. On this occasion Castro went further, stressing "the need to promote a spirit of courtesy in children of both sexes. We are talking about formal education in the sense of knowing how to behave wherever you go, something which is important in life."

Formal education covers a wide range. Referring to dress, he chose the tie (mentioned earlier) to illustrate his point. "Young people who put their ties in their pockets . . . are lacking in formal education." University students in particular had to know what formal education meant. They had to know "how to eat properly: they make an infernal noise when eating their soup (Laughter)—there's know-how involved even in eating soup properly." University students had to know how to use a knife and fork. They should know that they had to stand up when "the rector or director pass by". They should not treat those teaching them as they would their next door neighbour.

Castro sums up the position thus, "Our revolution will be judged not only in terms of the knowledge our citizens have of literature, grammar, biology, mathematics and chemistry, but also in terms of the formal education it gives them." Thus formal education constitutes the medium for instilling into the youth of the country important value systems, which in the opinion of the state are just as basic to the success of the revolution as sound knowledge of sciences and the arts.

Conclusion

From general observation, from conversation with interpreters attending the Seminar, as well as from exchanges with personnel from the University of Havana, the conclusion reached is that the society is committed to ensuring the success of the revolution. Whether or not this sense of commitment is a function of the Communist ideology underlying the society, it seems to characterize all of its elements, being particularly noticeable among the students in the Isle of Pines. Presumably this sense of commitment carries with it a distinct work ethic, which could, to advantage, form a necessary ingredient of the ideology, Communist or otherwise, upholding any society.

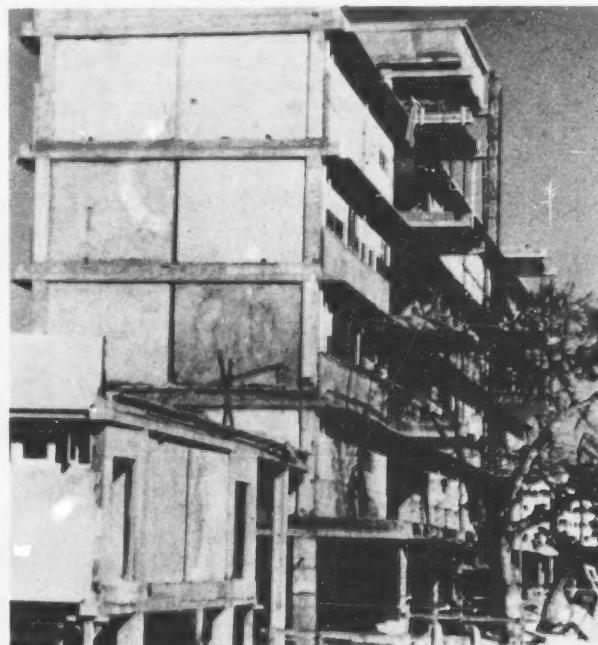
If what participants at the Seminar had the opportunity to see is typical of Cuba as a whole, the conclusion must be drawn that building on a massive scale is a dominant feature of its development process. Certainly industries other than construction are contributing to this process, although it was not the province of the Seminar to examine these. But it would be interesting to know whether all sectors of the society are expanding so rapidly.

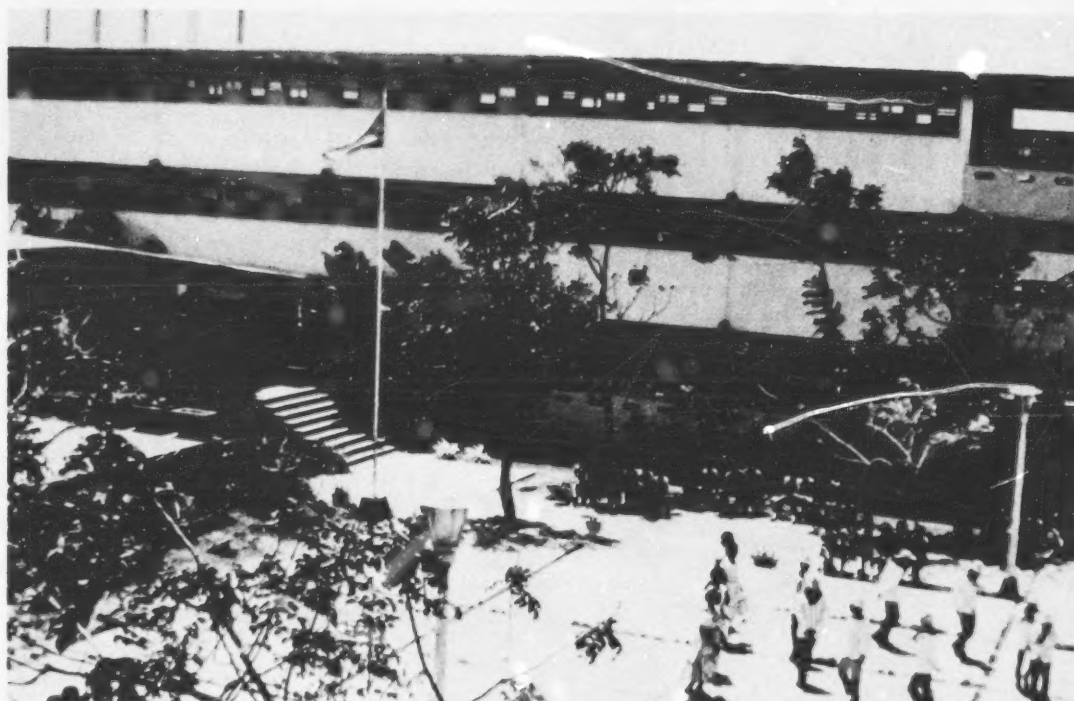
Contemplation of the Cuban scene of course gives rise to questions at several levels. For instance, is the basis on which this massive construction programme rests indigeneous? Would these and other programmes be feasible in the absence of considerable assistance from abroad? Significant though these questions may be from many standpoints, in the context of internal migration they may not be relevant.

Returning to the focus of

Returning to the focus of the Seminar, we must infer that, whether or not freedom of movement is ensured in Cuba, the policy of building new towns on such a scale should go a long way towards curbing the influx into major urban centres and providing its rural population with living and working conditions comparable to the best that modern cities can command. ■

Construction at Alamar





Folk dance at a secondary school on the Isla de Pinos (photos: C. Srinivasan)

Recommendation D.5

Patterns of Ownership

- (a) Many countries are undergoing a process of profound social transformation; a review and restructuring of the entire system of ownership rights is, in the majority of cases, essential to the accomplishment of new national objectives.
- (b) **PAST PATTERNS OF OWNERSHIP RIGHTS SHOULD BE TRANSFORMED TO MATCH THE CHANGING NEEDS OF SOCIETY AND BE COLLECTIVELY BENEFICIAL.**
- (c) ***Special attention should be paid to:***
 - (i) Redefinition of legal ownership including the rights of women and disadvantaged groups and usage rights for a variety of purposes;
 - (ii) Promoting land reform measures to bring ownership rights into conformity with the present and future needs of society;
 - (iii) Clear definition of public objectives and private ownership rights and duties which may vary with time and place;
 - (iv) Transitional arrangements to change ownership from traditional and customary patterns to new systems, especially in connexion with communal lands, whenever such patterns are no longer appropriate;
 - (v) Methods for the separation of land ownership rights from development rights, the latter to be entrusted to a public authority;
 - (vi) Adoption of policies for long-term leasing of land;
 - (vii) The land rights of indigenous peoples so that their cultural and historical heritage is preserved.

Outline of Multimedia Training Package on PLANNING FOR INTERNAL MIGRATION

Christina McDougall

Special Projects Officer (Communications)

UNITAR

The underlying concept of this package is based on the "open learning" system, which is rapidly spreading throughout the world as more and more countries diversify their means of communication. The following outline should be judged as a methodology, a framework within which articles and documents, statistics and other data, videotaped interviews and discussions, films, slide-tape presentations, case studies and the rest can be adapted and brought up to date as required. Additional material could be prepared on a national basis to fit in with local resources and requirements. All seven sections might be used as a basis for a course or series of broadcasts, or a single section taken as starting point for a seminar. It is intended to provide ideas and examples which can stimulate others to create their own packages, dealing with other topics. Where films or television are available, the whole range of media can be used. Otherwise printed material, slides and charts can suffice. The aim is to facilitate the dissemination of useful information to those who can use it.

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Section I	Symptoms of the Problem and the Need for Information
Section II	Land Use and the Small Farmer: the Caribbean Case
Section III	The Basics—Food and Employment
Section IV	Building up Intermediate Growth Centres
Section V	Accommodating to Urban Growth
Section VI	Popular Participation
Section VII	A Training Exercise

Section I SYMPTOMS OF THE PROBLEM AND THE NEED FOR INFORMATION

The problems related to internal migration have been stated and restated. The need at this juncture is to find possible solutions. And anyway, internal migration is not really the problem. The problem is development—or lack of it—or distortion of it. Migration is one symptom. We can mention briefly other related symptoms:

- a probable doubling of the world's population before the end of the century
- inadequate food supplies, housing and jobs to satisfy this massive increase
- lagging agricultural production
- dispersed rural communities with few services or amenities
- lack of rural industrialization and of employment opportunities
- uncontrolled urban growth
- expanding squatter settlements and slums
- urban unemployment or underemployment
- disintegration of the traditional family unit
- explosion of aspirations and dissatisfaction with the status quo—often leading to violence
- the pull of urban living and what it symbolises
- lack of accurate information about possibilities and opportunities
- lack of communication between those at the top and those at the bottom—and all the way in between.

A series of slides to illustrate the points made



*Video transcription:
Speech on issues related to human settle-
ments by Enrique Peñalosa, Secretary-
General of the UN Habitat Conference*

*Article: "Public Policy and Migratory
Behaviour in Selected Developing
Countries" by Aprodicio Laquian and Alan
Simmons*

Slides, charts, graphics

These symptoms are found in every country, developing, developed or least developed, but the consequences are intensified within the Third World and the solutions which Third World countries may prefer are not necessarily to be found in the experiences of the industrialized world.

The developing countries can learn from the successes and mistakes of others, but they must bring their own innovative approaches and decide on priorities and policies which are best fitted to meet their own national development needs. For this to be done successfully, every level of the people must be involved, the élites and the peasants and the middle classes, the men and the women, at every stage of the process.

It has been stated that one of the most dramatic and spectacular changes in the history of mankind is taking place during this century: in 1900 less than 20 per cent of the world's population lived in cities; by the year 2000 more than two-thirds of humanity will live in urban areas. Solutions to the problems posed by this phenomenon must come through political will, through policies implemented at the national and international levels, but especially at the national, based on expert knowledge and experience.

So what are the options open to governments when dealing with internal migration? Some governments have attempted by edict to prevent people moving into cities or have tried to send them back once they got there, but today this option has been ruled out by most countries. The main beneficiaries usually have been policemen, enriched through bribes, or the printers of false identity cards.

Urbanization is now accepted nearly everywhere as an irreversible process . . . and perhaps it could be the one real solution to the adverse consequences of internal migration—not in the form of bigger and more sprawling cities or megapolises but in the sense of bringing the services and amenities and culture and stimulation and opportunities, all the dynamic elements which go to form the attraction of city life, of civilization—of bringing at least some of these elements within reach of the rural and semi-rural communities in each country. But this can only be conceived effectively within the context of a national integrated planning policy. This is the challenge each country faces, no matter what its political and economic goals. Within an integrated plan of national development, each of three broad options has its own quota of advantages and disadvantages.

- providing incentives to keep people in rural areas;
- building up intermediate centres which could attract people from both rural and urban areas;
- accommodating to urban growth.

These are not choices in the sense that one supersedes the other. The ideal would be a concerted effort on all three fronts, but few governments in the developing world have the resources to carry this out. Priorities have to be determined through decision-making at the local, regional and national levels before policies can be determined and implemented.

Before a government instigates large-scale planning to deal with the consequences of rural-urban migration, it would seem logical that there should be an assembling of data, of statistics and general information about trends and movements. But even where a fair amount of reliable statistics and data has been gathered, and despite modern techniques like mathematical models and computers, it is still difficult for governments to obtain the kind of information that is most useful to them for policy making. But although the acquiring of information is obviously desirable, there is another side to the matter. Frequently the gathering of statistics may be used as an excuse for putting off action in the implementation of policy.

Section II

LAND USE AND THE SMALL FARMER

Certain aspects of rural life in the Caribbean could be considered special to the region—the plantation economy, for example, which it inherited from colonial days and of course the fact that many of the countries there are small islands. However, the region shares with other parts of the world many of the basic difficulties of rural living. In most countries, the small farmer is relatively untouched by programmes of integrated development prepared by governments. Reforming land use is crucial. Many good plans have been set down on paper for utilizing agricultural lands to their fullest potential and improving living standards of the rural population. Land reform in itself does not provide a solution to the problem of keeping people in rural areas, but such programmes may be necessary because of their impact on social justice and their stimulus to productivity and morale.

However, even when books, pamphlets, posters and films are circulated so that the people may be kept informed of such plans, there still remains an almost unbridgeable gap in communications between the rural poor and those who plan government strategy, no matter how comprehensive that strategy may be.

The life of the small farmer is never an easy one, especially in developing countries—marginal lands, poor soil, lack of water and proper drainage, inefficient production methods, no access to credit—these pose crushing problems to the farmer trying to cope with them. He tends to see all institutions, all authority, as blocking him from what he needs to live a decent existence.

But some of these institutions—regional development banks, for instance—are trying to incite change within the agricultural sector so that farming will become a viable occupation, capable of making a positive contribution to national economies. And institutions of higher learning, training and research can also have a constructive and imaginative role to play in experimenting with new ideas and methods of aiding development.

Paper: Measuring Internal Migration—selections from United Nations documents

*Video transcription:**

Group report on the difficulty of obtaining accurate information. Rapporteur: Luther Bourne, Chief Town Planner, Barbados

Audio transcription:

Jack Harewood, Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, Trinidad.

The Caribbean Case

Paper: Land Reform as a Factor in Social and Economic Planning: the Jamaican Situation by Alvin Burnett, National Planning Agency, Jamaica

Film: Letter from Cacoon prepared for the UN Human Settlements Conference

*Film transcription:**

Interview with a group of farmers on hardships of farming in the Caribbean

*Video transcription:**

Interview about the work of the Caribbean Development Bank with Lewis Campbell, Head of the Agricultural Division

Video transcription:

Interview about land distribution agricultural methods in various Caribbean countries, with Thomas Henderson, Director, Agricultural Extension, Univ. West Indies

Paper: The Food Problem of the Future from the FAO document The State of Food and Agriculture, 1974

Paper: Food Production—Technology and the Resource Base by Sylvan Wittwer, Michigan State University

Paper: You Can Grow a Miracle Bean in Your Own Back Yard by Jan Carew, Caribbean Organization for Rural Development and Education, Surinam

Article: "Creating New Labour Markets for Rural-Urban Migrants" by Ellen Bussey, labour economist

*Video transcription: * Statement about ways of creating jobs in rural areas, by Ellen Bussey*

Paper: Rural Development and Internal Migration by Jacques Gaudé, International Labour Organisation

The frightening rate of population increase in today's world, combined with the apparent dwindling of global food supplies, is closely tied to rural development and how land is used. Methods of increasing food production may be found in the use of new technologies which are labour-intensive and require a minimum input of capital and energy. Other experiments are underway with growing food such as the winged bean, a legume rich in protein and vitamins, and high lysine corn, crops which can be grown, processed, marketed and distributed by marginal farming communities. Community experimentation can bring together the researcher and the small farmer in the tropics on such projects of agro-industrial development. They can collaborate on the social, political and economic construction—or reconstruction—of their societies.

The creation of jobs in rural areas is the core of rural development—and the hardest problem for any government to solve. In most countries today both human and natural resources are going to waste through underemployment. If a small farmer is to be made productive, he must be given enough land to enable him to farm efficiently, he must be able to mechanize to a certain extent and to produce cash crops for income as well as for feeding his family and himself. This means access to markets and transportation. Even with all this, he is unlikely to be able to keep himself and his family fully employed for twelve months of the year unless there is a drastic restructuring of the farming system.

In trying to deal with these problems, a government must be ready to compromise, to make important decisions about the major allocation of its resources, to determine priorities. Sometimes a systems analysis approach can be useful as a means of assessing options; sometimes it involves a reappraisal of the objectives of the national development strategy.



Section IV

BUILDING UP INTERMEDIATE GROWTH CENTRES

There seems to be consensus that one way of encouraging effective integrated development is by creating "growth centres"—new communities which are intermediate between rural settlements and the cities. Such centres are set up for many reasons, but the broad objectives usually include the opening up of the hinterland and the diverting of rural migrants from swollen metropolitan areas. Sometimes the dominant emphasis is national prestige; sometimes the priority is increasing economic and industrial productivity, which may encourage outside investors and provide short-term profits; or it may be improving the conditions of the rural poor, which requires a large concentration of resources and the patience to reap long-term benefits. Choices must be made, because few countries are rich enough to move on all fronts.

Creating areas for development within a country can apparently achieve real success only if such areas combine positive characteristics of rural and urban living and are planned as part of a national programme of integrated development. Many newly independent countries are aware of this, and their development plans reflect this thinking. It is an especially delicate task when there are minority groups culturally separate from the majority, perhaps isolated in remote areas, who have somehow to be woven into the fabric of a new society.

Frequently "growth centre" policies have not come up to expectations because the planning and implementation were extremely costly and the industries established were capital- rather than labour-intensive, leaving the problem of underemployment unsolved or even aggravated. If production is put way ahead of social justice and a factory given higher priority than housing, the seeds of mass frustration are sown. But if the people as a whole have the feeling that they are fully participating in the creation of a better society, then they may accept hardship as part of their contribution.

For any country, but especially for those in the Third World where so much of the population is still rural, the costs involved in providing the small farmer in dispersed settlements with utilities and services such as water, sewage, electricity, roads and public transportation are usually prohibitive. A logical solution is to cluster these settlements into communities which can more easily be provided not only with these basic services but with other cultural and educational amenities of urban life.

This would also seem to be the most practical way of providing opportunities for employment, usually based on agriculture with some forms of communal farming, agro-industry and small-scale industrialization based on local natural resources and crafts. This type of centre usually has been deliberately conceived to combat rural poverty, stimulate job creation and encourage the productive growth of a formerly backward region. In this kind of enterprise the active participation of the community is necessary at all stages.

Malaysia, China, Tanzania and other countries have tried variations of this method, adjusted to needs of their respective national situations.

For most countries an integrated rural development programme is not easy to set in motion. It cannot really succeed if it is viewed only as an alternative to urban growth. A "growth pole" strategy implies different rates of development among different regions, which may intensify social and political tensions, but advances are being made in reaching a better understanding of why some rural development fails and other projects succeed.

Paper: Urban Planning in Developing Countries by Lloyd Rodwin, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

*Video transcription:**
Interview about migration within Haiti with Anthony Radspieler, U.S. Department of Commerce

Country Report of Surinam

*Video transcription:**
Interview about migration within Surinam with Leendert Slood, Department of Rural Government and Decentralization, Surinam

Article: "On Developing Rural Settlements" by Uma Lele, World Bank

Paper: The Cuban Experience compiled from a variety of sources

*Slide/tape presentation:***
Cuba's New Communities

Article: "New Town Plan in a New Agricultural Region, Malaysia," by John Taylor and David Ekroth, School of Housing, Building and Planning, University Sains Malaysia

*Slide/tape presentation:****
Pahang Tenggara New Town 8: a case study by John Taylor

Article: "Integrated Rural Development Programmes: A Skeptical Perspective," by Vernon Ruttan, Agricultural Development Council, Singapore

****The visuals can be obtained from Mr. Taylor at the UCLA School of Architecture and Urban Planning, Los Angeles*



Section V

ACCOMMODATING TO URBAN GROWTH

Video transcription:*

Interview on how migration patterns develop, with Ramiro Cardona, Corporación Centro Regional de Población, Bogotá

Paper: Expanding the Perception of the Housing Problem in Developing Countries by S. Angel and S. Benjamin for the UN Human Settlements Conference

Paper: Sites and Services Projects by World Bank for UN Human Settlements Conference

Article: "Uncontrolled Settlements" by Calisto E. Madavo, World Bank

Article: "Urbanization in Africa: Site and Service Programs" by Franziska P. Hosken, University of Boston

Slide/tape presentation:**

Sites and Services

Video transcription:*

Discussion with Aprodicio Laquian, IDRC; Bernard Gouveia, World Bank; Alberto Harth Deneke, Fundación Salvadoreña de Desarrollo y Vivienda Mínima

Migration patterns from rural to urban areas are changing constantly. Attitudes towards some of the consequences of these migrations are also changing, particularly with regard to slums and squatter settlements.

There was a time—not so long ago—when governments went to extreme lengths to clear out slums and evict squatters . . . often in an attempt to conform to international and professional standards of what constitutes "good" housing, standards totally unrealistic in most developing countries. This is changing. People are coming to realize that sub-standard—any standard—housing is better than no shelter at all. Ninety per cent of the world's population is going to continue to build its own housing, with no planner or architect or construction crew in sight, and therefore that ninety per cent has perhaps a right to determine its own standards and how it is willing to live.

"Sites and Services" is an approach to providing low-income housing which has received much support from the World Bank and similar groups in recent years. It usually means that local authorities provide the land and prepare it for housing. Plots are then leased or sold, building plans and loans are provided, but the people themselves build their own houses in the way they want and make additions at their own pace. Basic utilities—water, electricity, sewage treatment—are made accessible.

Programmes which have been underway for some time in Zambia, Malawi, Indonesia, for instance, show that greater institutional support and incentives are still required but that a certain number of criteria are emerging which seem to contribute to success. There is now a greater flexibility within sites and services projects to allow for local and individual concepts of priorities, and the projects are becoming accepted as one solution to urban growth within national integrated planning.

Section VI

POPULAR PARTICIPATION

Whether the planning is for rural or for urban programmes, real success depends upon the involvement of the people themselves in making decisions which are going to affect their lives drastically. Rather than impose policy from above, authorities must take time and effort to explain their ideas to the people, must learn to listen carefully to their reactions and respond to them, help them identify their actual needs, give advice on request, also tools and technical assistance so that they can be self-reliant and learn to work out their own solutions.

It is of course understandable that a developing country may often feel the need to push ahead with policies to encourage growth and production, but sometimes the people most concerned are left behind in the process, and there is a danger of deepening the gulf between haves and have-nots.

Popular participation and community development will not necessarily prevent rural-urban migration. As community workers in rural areas become experienced in committees and meetings, acquiring organizational and management skills, they will inevitably look to wider fields in which to exercise these skills. Schools and factories are built, roads constructed, with good public transportation, and radio and television become available. This creates an ambiance where rural people become more skilled and mobile and their aspirations are raised. If there is no outlet for these aspirations and skills in their own or nearby communities—which, as we have seen, is the objective in places like Cuba, Tanzania or Malaysia—they will move to the cities. But if the rural dwellers feel that they have a share in policy decisions made on their behalf, that they have some control over events that shape their life, they may not experience the alienation within their society which many feel today.

The concept of popular participation is spreading rapidly, however, because no government, no matter what its ideology, can carry out for long policies which are unacceptable to the bulk of the people. If it does, the pressures within the country, and even from outside, may become unmanageable. To encourage participation by all the people in national decision-making is good policy in itself.



Paper: Popular Participation for the Improvement of the Human Environment in Marginal Settlements UN Social Development Division

*Video transcription:**

Interview with Carleen Gardner, Sites and Services Unit, Ministry of Housing, Jamaica

*Video transcription:**

Interview with George Huggins, FAO Programme Officer for the Caribbean Area

*Video transcription:**

Interview with Jan Carew, Director of the Caribbean Organization for Rural Development and Education (CORDE)

*Film transcription:**

Discussion with Sybil Francis, Senior Lecturer in Social Work, University of the West Indies, Jamaica; Louis Pinder, Town Planner, Trinidad; Russell Carroll, Physical Planner, Bahamas

**Film and videotape directed by Bettina Corke*

***Photographs by Christopher Srinivasan*

Section VII

A TRAINING EXERCISE

Archipel: A fictional case study

Country Profiles: Abstracts from Interim National Reports on Human Settlements prepared by Governments for the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON HUMAN SETTLEMENTS, 1976

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

1. The improvement of the quality of life of human beings is the first and most important objective of every human settlement policy. These policies must facilitate the rapid and continuous improvement in the quality of life of all people, beginning with the satisfaction of the basic needs of food, shelter, clean water, employment, health, education, training, social security without any discrimination as to race, colour, sex, language, religion, ideology, national or social origin or other cause, in a frame of freedom, dignity and social justice.

2. In striving to achieve this objective, priority must be given to the needs of the most disadvantaged people.

3. Economic development should lead to the satisfaction of human needs and is a necessary means towards achieving a better quality of life, provided that it contributes to a more equitable distribution of its benefits among people and nations. In this context particular attention should be paid to the accelerated transition in developing countries from primary development to secondary development activities, and particularly to industrial development.

4. Human dignity and the exercise of free choice consistent with over-all public welfare are basic rights which must be assured in every society. It is therefore the duty of all people and Governments to join the struggle against any form of colonialism, foreign aggression and occupation, domination, *apartheid* and all forms of racism and racial discrimination referred to in the resolutions as adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

5. The establishment of settlements in territories occupied by force is illegal. It is condemned by the international community. However, action still remains to be taken against the establishment of such settlements.

6. The right of free movement and the right of each individual to choose the place of settlement within the domain of his own country should be recognized and safeguarded.

7. Every State has the sovereign and inalienable right to choose its economic system, as well as its political, social and cultural system, in accordance with the will of its people, without interference, coercion or external threat of any kind.

8. Every State has the right to exercise full and permanent sovereignty over its wealth, natural resources and economic activities, adopting the necessary measures for the planning and management of its resources, providing for the protection, preservation and enhancement of the environment.

9. Every country should have the right to be a sovereign inheritor of its own cultural values created throughout its history and has the duty to preserve them as an integral part of the cultural heritage of mankind.

10. Land is one of the fundamental elements in human settlements. Every State has the right to take the necessary steps to maintain under public control the use, possession, disposal and reservation of land. Every State has the right to plan and regulate use of land, which is one of its most important resources, in such a way that the growth of population centres both urban and rural are based on a comprehensive land use plan. Such measures must assure the attainment of basic goals of social and economic reform for every country, in conformity with its national and land tenure system and legislation.

11. The nations must avoid the pollution of the biosphere and the oceans and should join in the effort to end irrational exploitation of all environmental resources, whether non-renewable or renewable in the long term. The environment is the common heritage of mankind and its protection is the responsibility of the whole international community. All acts by nations and people should therefore be inspired by a deep respect for the protection of the environmental resources upon which life itself depends.

12. The waste and misuse of resources in war and armaments should be prevented. All countries should make a firm commitment to promote general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control, in particular in the field of nuclear disarmament. Part of the resources thus released should be utilized so as to achieve a better quality of life for humanity and particularly the peoples of developing countries.

13. All persons have the right and the duty to participate, individually and collectively in the elaboration and implementation of policies and programmes of their human settlements.

14. To achieve universal progress in the quality of life, a fair and balanced structure of the economic relations between States has to be promoted. It is therefore essential to implement urgently the New International Economic Order, based on the Declaration and Programme of Action approved by the General Assembly in its sixth special session, and on the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.

15. The highest priority should be placed on the rehabilitation of expelled and homeless people who have been displaced by natural or man-made catastrophes, and especially by the act of foreign aggression. In the latter case, all countries have the duty to fully co-operate in order to guarantee that the parties involved allow the return of displaced persons to their homes and to give them the right to possess and enjoy their properties and belongings without interference.

16. Historical settlements, monuments and other items of national heritage, including religious heritage, should be safeguarded against any acts of aggression or abuse by the occupying Power.

17. Every State has the sovereign right to rule and exercise effective control over foreign investments, including the transnational corporations within its national jurisdiction, which affect directly or indirectly the human settlements programmes.

18. All countries, particularly developing countries, must create conditions which make possible the full integration of women and youth in political, economic and social activities, particularly in the planning and implementation of human settlement proposals and in all the associated activities, on the basis of equal rights, in order to achieve an efficient and full utilization of available human resources, bearing in mind that women constitute half of the world population.

19. International co-operation is an objective and a common duty of all States, and necessary efforts must therefore be made to accelerate the social and economic development of developing countries, within the framework of favourable external conditions which are compatible with their needs and aspirations and which contain the due respect for the sovereign equality of all States.

GUIDELINES FOR ACTION

1. It is recommended that Governments and international organizations should make every effort to take urgent action as set out in the following guidelines:

2. It is the responsibility of Governments to prepare spatial strategy plans and adopt human settlement policies to guide the socio-economic development efforts. Such policies must be an essential component of an over-all development strategy, linking and harmonizing them with policies on industrialization, agriculture, social welfare, and environmental and cultural preservation so that each supports the other in a progressive improvement in well-being of all mankind.

3. A human settlement policy must seek harmonious integration or co-ordination of a wide variety of components, including, for example, population growth and distribution, employment, shelter, land use, infrastructure and services. Governments must create mechanisms and institutions to develop and implement such a policy.

4. It is of paramount importance that national and international efforts give priority to improving the rural habitat. In this context, efforts should be made towards the reduction of disparities between rural and urban areas, as needed between regions and within urban areas themselves, for a harmonious development of human settlements.

5. The demographic, natural and economic characteristics of many countries require policies on growth and distribution of population, land tenure and localization of productive activities to ensure orderly processes of urbanization and arrange for rational occupation of rural space.

6. Human settlement policies and programmes should define and strive for progressive minimum standards for an acceptable quality of life. These standards will vary within and between countries, as well as over periods of time, and therefore must be subject to change in accordance with conditions and possibilities. Some standards are most appropriately defined in quantitative terms, thus providing precisely defined targets at the local and national levels. Others must be qualitative, with their achievement subject to felt need. At the same time, social justice and a fair sharing of resources demand the discouragement of excessive consumption.

7. Attention must also be drawn to the detrimental effects of transposing standards and criteria that can only be adopted by minorities and could heighten inequalities, the misuse of resources and the social, cultural and ecological deterioration of the developing countries.

8. Adequate shelter and services are a basic human right which places an obligation on Governments to ensure their attainment by all people, beginning with direct assistance to the least advantaged through guided programmes of self-help and community action. Governments should endeavour to remove all impediments hindering attainments of these goals. Of special importance is the elimination of social and racial segregation, *inter alia*, through the creation of better balanced communities, which blend different social groups, occupation, housing and amenities.

9. Health is an essential element in the development of the individual, and one of the goals of human settlement policies should be to improve environmental health conditions and basic health services.

10. Basic human dignity is the right of people, individually and collectively, to participate directly in shaping the policies and programmes affecting their lives. The process of choosing and carrying out a given course of action for human settlement improvement should be designed expressly to fulfil that right. Effective human settlement policies require a continuous co-operative relationship between a Government and its people at all levels. It is recommended that national Governments promote programmes that will encourage and assist local authorities to participate to a greater extent in national development.

11. Since a genuine human settlement policy requires the effective participation of the entire population, recourse must therefore be made at all times to technical arrangements permitting the use of all human resources, both skilled and unskilled. The equal participation of women must be guaranteed. These goals must be associated with a global training programme to facilitate the introduction and use of technologies that maximize productive employment.

12. International and national institutions should promote and institute education programmes and courses in the subject of "human settlements."

13. Land is an essential element in development of both urban and rural settlements. The use and tenure of land should be subject to public control because of its limited supply through appropriate measures and legislation including agrarian reform policies—as an essential basis for integrated rural development—that will facilitate the transfer of economic resources to the agricultural sector and the promotion of the agro-industrial effort, so as to improve the integration and organization of human settlements, in accordance with national development plans and programmes. The increase in the value of land as a result of public decision and investment should be recaptured for the benefit of society as a whole. Governments should also ensure that prime agricultural land is destined to its most vital use.

14. Human settlements are characterized by significant disparities in living standards and opportunities. Harmonious development of human settlements requires the reduction of disparities between rural and urban areas, between regions and within regions themselves. Governments should adopt policies which aim at decreasing the differences between living standards and opportunities in urban and non-urban areas. Such policies at the national level should be supplemented by policies designed to reduce disparities between countries within the framework of the New International Economic Order.

15. In achieving the socio-economic and environmental objectives of the development of human settlements, high priority should be given to the actual design and physical planning processes which have as their main tasks the synthesis of various planning approaches and the transformation of broad and general goals into specific design solutions. The sensitive and comprehensive design methodologies related to the particular circumstances of time and space and based on consideration of the human scale should be pursued and encouraged.

16. The design of human settlements should aim at providing a living environment in which identities of individuals, families and societies are preserved and adequate means for maintaining privacy, the possibility of face-to-face interactions and public participation in the decision-making process are provided.

17. A human settlement is more than a grouping of people, shelter and work places. Diversity in the characteristics of human settlements reflecting cultural and aesthetic values must be respected and encouraged and areas of historical, religious or archaeological importance and nature areas of special interest preserved for posterity. Places of worship, especially in areas of expanding human settlements, should be provided and recognized in order to satisfy the spiritual and religious needs of different groups in accordance with freedom of religious expression.

18. Governments and the international community should facilitate the transfer of relevant technology and experience and should encourage and assist the creation of endogenous technology better suited to the socio-cultural characteristics and patterns of population by means of bilateral or multilateral agreements, having regard to the sovereignty and interest of the participating States. The knowledge and experience accumulated on the subject of human settlements should be available to all countries. Research and academic institutions should contribute more fully to this effort by giving greater attention to human settlements problems.

19. Access should be granted, on more favourable terms, to modern technology, which should be adapted as necessary to the specific economic, social and ecological conditions and to the different stages of development of the developing countries. Efforts must be made to ensure that the commercial practices governing the transfer of technology are adapted to the needs of the developing countries and to ensure that buyers' rights are not abused.

20. International, technical and financial co-operation by the developed countries with the developing countries must be conducted on the basis of respect for national sovereignty and national development plans and programmes and designed to solve problems relating to projects, under human settlement programmes, aimed at enhancing the quality of life of the inhabitants.

21. Due attention should be given to implementation of conservation and recycling technologies.

22. In the planning and management of human settlements, Governments should take into consideration all pertinent recommendations on human settlements planning which have emerged from earlier conferences dealing with the quality of life and development problems which affect it, starting with the high global priority represented by the transformation of the economic order at the national and international levels (sixth and seventh special sessions), the environmental impact of human settlements (Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment), the housing and sanitary ramifications of population growth (World Population Conference, Bucharest), rural development and the need to increase food supply (World Food Conference, Rome) and the effect on women of housing and urban development (International Women's Conference, Mexico City).

23. While planning new human settlements or restructuring existing ones, a high priority should be given to the promotion of optimal and creative conditions of human coexistence. This implies the creation of a well-structured urban space on a human scale, the close interconnexion of the different urban functions, the relief of urban man from intolerable psychological tensions due to overcrowding and chaos, the creation of chances of human encounters and the elimination of urban concepts leading to human isolation.

24. Guided by the foregoing principles, the international community must exercise its responsibility to support national efforts to meet the human settlements challenges facing them. Since resources of Governments are inadequate to meet all needs, the international community should provide the necessary financial and technical assistance, evolve appropriate institutional arrangements and seek new effective ways to promote them. In the meantime, assistance to developing countries must at least reach the percentage targets set in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade. ■

Enrique Peñalosa, Secretary-General of Habitat: United Nations Conference on Human Settlements





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